CUK-H00458-14-GS01419
310.5
003
14

THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOLUME LXXIV.

1882.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY ✯ CENTRAL LIBRARY.

who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of
by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage
rth new positions to the world; and, were they but as the dust
ters of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish
hten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utter
cast away.—MILTON.

CALCUTTA ✯ UNIVERSITY ✯ CENTRAL LIBRARY.

CALCUTTA:
PRINTED & PUBLISHED BY
HOMAS S. SMITH, CITY PRESS, 12, BENTINCK STREET.
BOMBAY: MESSRS. THACKER & CO., "LIMITED."
MADRAS: MESSRS. HIGGINBOTHAM & CO.
NDON: MESSRS. TRÜBNER & CO., 57 & 59, LUDGATE HILL.

CUTTA REVIEW.

No. CXLVII.

CONTENTS.

PAGE.

I.—TIBET AND THE WAY THITHER 1
„ II.—THE LANGUAGES OF AFRICA 17
„ III.—MORAL CHOLERA 54
„ IV.—HOW THE PORTUGUESE OBTAINED A FOOTING IN THE ISLAND OF DIU:
How the Portuguese obtained a footing in the Island of Diu; slew Bahádur Sháh the Sultán of Guzerat; took possession of the town; were besieged by the Guzeratis, and also by Suleymán Pasha with a Turkish fleet, which, after raising the siege, departed again to the Red Sea 71
„ V.—PATNA, DURING THE LAST DAYS OF THE MAHOMEDANS 114
„ VI.—ECONOMIC REFORM IN RURAL INDIA ... 138
„ VII.—SIR THOMAS ROE, AND THE COURT OF JEHANGEER 175
„ VIII.—SOCIAL LIFE IN BENGAL FIFTY YEARS AGO. BY AN OLD INDIAN 183
HE QUARTER 193
RITICAL NOTICES:—
1.—GENERAL LITERATURE:
1.—The Gun and its Development; with Notes on Shooting.—By W. W. Greener, Author of "Modern Breech-loaders," "Chokebore Guns," etc., Cassell, Petter, Galpin and Co.: London, Paris and New York. i

2.—Indo-Aryans: Contrib
dation of their Ancie
tory. by Rájendralála
volumes. Calcutta, W.
Dalhousie Square. London
ford, 55, Charing Cross. 1881

3.—A Bengali Primer in Roman Char
J. F. Browne, B. C. S., London.
& Co., Ludgate Hill. ...

4.—England's Duty to India. A Letter to the
Honourable The Marquis of Hartington, H
Majesty's Secretary of State for India. By
John Murdoch, L.L. D. Madras: C. K. S.
Press, Vepery. 1881. ... ... *ib.*

LAR LITERATURE.—

5.—Bhárat Kosh. Compiled by Raj Krishna Ráya
ebau Sarách Chandra Deb. Parts I, II & III.
Printed and published by Sarách Chandra
Deb at the Biná Press, 37, Mechuábazar
Street, Calcutta. ix

6.—Rámáyan. Translated in Bengali verse, by Ráj
Krishna Ráya with Notes. Printed at the
Albert Press, Calcutta ... ... *ib.*

7.—Banga Mahilá. By Jogendra Náráyan Ráya.
Printed and published by Nandalál Basu at
the Sádhárani Press, Chinsurah, 1881 ... xi

8.—Bhrántibinod. By Káli Prasanna Ghosh. Printed
and published by Munshi Maula Buksh at
the Dacca Girish Press, 1881 xiii

9.—Ami Ramani-Kábya. Printed by Rájendra Nath
Sen, and published by Bhuban Chandra
Mukhopádhyáya at the Sudhábarsan Press,
Calcutta, 1288, B. S. xiv

10.—Nitimanjari. By Surja Kumár Adhikári, B.A.
Printed at the Sanskrit Press, and published
at the Sanskrit Press Depository, Calcutta,
1881 xv

CRCU 44

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW.

NO. CXLVII.

ART. I.—TIBET AND THE WAY THITHER.

THE failure of the noted Russian traveller, Colonel Prjevalsky, to reach Lhasa, should not induce either the Indian Government or those who happen to be interested in the question to treat with indifference the subject of our relations with the mysterious country lying beyond the northern frontier of India. Colonel Prjevalsky's attempt was one of a most interesting character, both in the cause of geographical research, and also as indirectly affecting several political questions of importance; and, although it failed to attain the degree of success the gallantry of the explorer deserved, it was productive of sufficiently practical results to encourage others to resume the attempt on some favourable opportunity. While, therefore, the prospect of Russian influence penetrating into Tibet recedes for the time, it would be a mistaken view on our part to imagine that the idea of trade intercourse between Kiachta, or Semipalatinsk, and Lhasa has been permanently abandoned by the Russian authorities. The design has only been laid aside for a more fitting occasion, and this interval furnishes us with an advantage that we should not be slow to seize.

The two facts can hardly be forgotten, that Tibet is our close neighbour, and that Sir Thomas Wade obtained for this country, in the treaty of Chefoo, the right to despatch a mission to its capital. That concession, it is said, the Chinese consider annulled by the lapse of time, but it is difficult to perceive, from the wording of the treaty itself, how that view can be sustained. At all events, as it would be a very unfortunate proceeding to force ourselves or our representative upon either the

GS 1419

Chinese or their subjects, the Tibetans, it will be admitted, that the enforcement of this clause requires a fresh expression of consent on the part of the Chinese Government. Considering the anomalous condition of the relations which subsist between England and China along the land frontier of the two great Empires, it is, to say the least, doubtful policy to forego points which appear calculated to promote a friendly feeling between the two countries. In face of the journeys of Mr. Baber and Captain Gill across China, and of the repeated tours of Mr. Morrison in the heart of the country, it can no longer be argued that the people are bitterly inimical to the presence of Europeans. The hostility appears to emanate rather from the minor officials than from the mass of the people, and the officials dare not act in opposition to the clearly expressed commands of the Government. The consent of the Central authorities being obtained afresh, there need be no apprehension, that the entry of our representatives into Tibet would be opposed by the Chinese mandarins. The advantages of intercourse with Tibet are only remotely connected with politics, and may be rather classed under the head of commercial improvements. But greater store will be set by most persons on the fact that it would be taking a step towards improving our relations with the Chinese, whom we so imperfectly understand. It would be placing our neighbourly relations on a new footing with a Power whose history and present condition alike command our respect and attention.

Within the last three years the subject of Tibet has attracted considerable notice in this country, mainly perhaps due to the writings of Mr. Clements Markham. Certainly it is to the publication of "The mission of George Bogle to Tibet" in the early part of the year 1876, that all the discussions that have since ensued about the land of the Lamas is to be attributed. Never was a book published at a more opportune moment. The failure of the Mandalay route, and the uncertain future before us in our relations with China, gave a general interest to the chronicle of past ill-success in a similar direction, at the same time that the story served to remind us that another road to China from India existed than that through the dominions of the King of Burmah. It is permissible to believe that the work of Mr. Clements Markham made an impression on the mind of Sir Thomas Wade, and that the practical result of this publication, relating to the only English missions to Tibet—the first two official, and the third unofficial in character—was nothing less than the insertion of the clause relating to a mission to Lhasa in the treaty of Chefoo. In India there have always been advocates for a repetition of Bogle's mission, and, indeed, it is not in the character of the English to admit of the existence of a mystery, such as Tibet was and still is, a very few miles beyond the frontier of their dominions. Although, therefore, no Englishman has, since Manning, penetrated into Tibet, many have ascended the peaks of the Himalayas, and the majority of the passes in Sikhim, at all events, have been explored. The preliminary stages have, during the last 40 years, been mastered, and it only now remains for some fortunate official to reap the reward that the energy and indomitable courage of a whole generation have been enlisted to secure. Tibet is the vast country which lies between the two mountain ranges, the Kuen Lun and the Himalaya. In its own language it is called Bhot, and by the Chinese it is known as Tsang. It has been divided into three natural divisions, Eastern, Western and Central, but it is only with the last or Metropolitan State that we are at present concerned. The early history of the country is wrapped in a thick mist of fable, and, so far as our knowledge of its extensive literature yet goes, we are unable to do more than grope uncertainly in the darkness. It is not until the end of the 14th century that we are able to discern events that are tangible, and that for us the history of Tibet may be said to commence. Before that time there were Lamas, and the Buddhist religion was supreme; but neither the Dalai nor the Teshu titles had been created. The rulers of Lhasa had no claims to the special sanctity that is now their prerogative and birthright, if it is appropriate to apply the latter term to a spiritual being, who is never supposed to lose vitality. The State was ruled by its native Lamas in some sort of ill-defined dependency upon the sovereigns of Pekin. The Buddhist Church in Tibet had fallen into evil ways at the period referred to, and there was urgent necessity for the appearance of a reformer, when, in reply to the prayers of the people, one came in the person of Tsong Khapa. The origin, according to the partial legend of the Tibetan Luther, was no ordinary one. His father, Lombo Moka, lived in the fertile regions south of Koko Nor, where the two mighty rivers Yang-tse and Hoang Ho find an almost common source. Here he, with his wife Chingtsia-Tsio, is depicted for us as passing a happy, contented existence, far from the commotions that disturbed the neighbouring States, and uncontaminated by the prevailing corruption. One grief alone oppressed them, that to prove these dwellers in Aindo were after all mortals like the rest, and that was the absence of children. Years passed on, and still Chingtsia-Tsio proved barren, till at last they both became resigned to their lot. One day, during the absence of her husband, Chingtsia met with an adventure which was destined to bear fruit of no ordinary import. On her way to the place where she drew the household water, she fell into a trance, and sank senseless on a large stone on which were graven characters in honour of Sakya Muni. Nine months after this occurrence she gave birth to a son, who was called Tsong Khapa, from the name of the mountain at the foot of which this had taken place. At an early age he entered the church, and eventually became Abbot of Galdan, near Lhasa. It was he, then, who by steady reform swept away most of the abuses which had crept into the order of the Lamas, and more than any other did he contribute to exalt the priesthood of Tibet among their neighbours as the purest and most enlightened of the exponents of the doctrines of the Buddha. The work he had carried on from the neighbourhood of Lhasa was supplemented by that accomplished by Gedun-tubpa in the southern portion of the country. A contemporary of Tsong Khapa, the latter survived him many years, and the work he left behind him was consequently of a more permanent nature. His rule was confined to the neighbourhood of Shigatze; but there it was supreme. His successor became distinguished as the Teshu Lama. At this time there was no Dalai Lama; consequently the inferior title dates further back than the superior. A very accurate idea may be obtained of the difference between these titles by the chief epithet that is applied to their respective holders. The Dalai is the gem of majesty; the Teshu the gem of learning. The sixth descendant of Gedun-tubpa, and consequently the 5th Teshu, by name Nawang Lobsang, brought the whole of Tibet under his sway, and was the common ancestor of the three great Lamas, the Dalai of Lhasa, the Teshu of Shigatze, and the Taranath of Urga beyond Gobi. In 1650 the Tibetan ruler entered into the closest alliance with Chuntche, the Emperor of China. The Manchu conquest had just been consummated, and the new Emperor was pleased to secure the good services of the the priestly order of Tibet. Their influence has always been much solicited by the present dynasty, and, so far as we are justified in speaking, they have been consistent in their support of the Pekin authorities. Nawag Lobsang was publicly created, by order of Chuntche, Dalai Lama, which signifies Ocean Lama, his ability being thus proclaimed to be as deep and as unfathomable as the sea. He was therefore the first Dalai and the fifth Teshu; but the former soon became recognised as the higher title, that specially attaching to the ruler of Lhasa. From that day to the present so far as our most recent intelligence goes, the two Lamas have continued to rule in Tibet, although the Chinese have encroached in many ways on their governing privileges.

The wars with Nepaul have afforded plausible excuses for this extension of the authority of the Chinese Ambans, but, if we may accept the Abbé Huc as a trustworthy witness, the number of the Chinese garrison has been grossly exaggerated. It used to be believed that it consisted of 60,000 Chinese troops, always maintained in a high degree of efficiency. From the missionary's interesting account 10,000 would appear to be too high an estimate, and these deficient in every requisite of an army. It should be stated, however, that, even if this evidence were correct at the time, the Chinese army is now greatly superior to what it was in that year. Since then it has virtually been recreated. On the other hand, outside the circles of the priests, of whose real convictions we know absolutely nothing, there is much antipathy on the part of the Tibetans towards the Chinese. Some would have us believe that this aversion is deep rooted, and that one day or another it will find a vent in a general rising against the mandarins. That they regard the Chinese as "a gross and impure race of men," is not to be wondered at, when we remember that the only Chinese in the country are the soldiers and some of the lower grades of the official classes. There is undoubtedly a kind of prophecy believed in by many of the people that a grand era is yet to dawn for their country, and that the true doctrines of Buddhism will sweep all error from amongst the surrounding nations, and result in the supremacy of Tibet, and its ruling priesthood. Such are the few popular aspirations with which we have any acquaintance. They are vague in the extreme, and perhaps are only the expression of the discontent of some intriguing or oppressed clique. They may also possess the highest importance, and if the power of the Lamas for good or evil be as great as is asserted by some, then these murmurs, taken in conjunction with the known restless feeling among the Chinese themselves, finding expression at the present moment in the demand for a change in the dynastic style, may yet bear fruit in practical results. The traditions of the country, and the practical experience of its educated classes alike teach that the part Tibet has to play in political matters is confined to the northern side of the Himalaya; yet the religion of the people attracts them in as great a degree to the southern. The importance of this fact in the present case is, that there is a common desire both in India and Tibet to gravitate towards each other. The religion of the Lamas impels them to regard the sacred cities of Bengal as the most venerable spots on earth, and thrice happy is that one who, having overcome the obstacles imposed by the loftiest mountain-chain in the world, and the dangers of the pestiferous jungle that there succeeds, has bathed in the sacred waters of the

Ganges. Few, indeed, have been the pilgrims who in our time have come from the Holy Land of Buddhism, yet there have been some, and these in their own country are regarded with particular respect. The travels of Gosain Pranporee were on a still more extended scale. He had visited far distant Moscow, and barely escaped slavery at the hands of the Turcomans. He made a complete circuit of the more interesting portion of Asia. From India he had penetrated to Persia, thence north to Russia, and by Siberia and Urga had entered the Chinese Empire, whence he returned to Lhasa by the Sining route. Captain Turner has given a very interesting description of this distinguished character, who was, very naturally, quite a celebrity among his countrymen. The natural inclination of the people of Tibet to visit India exists, and should been couraged by every means in our power.

It is by this time well-known that Warren Hastings was the first to direct the attention of his countrymen to the regions beyond the Himalaya, and that he aspired to open up, in these little known States, a fresh field for that energy and activity of which he himself possessed such a superabundance. It is not so well understood that his first and more important embassy to Tibet was in reality a return mission, dictated as much by the rules of good breeding as by any more ambitious sentiment; nor is it perhaps more fully realised that the mission of George Bogle was, strictly speaking, a success, and that it was only when it attempted to extend its functions, that it met with a check that has made the whole affair appear as an unqualified failure. The Cis-Himalayan State of Bhutan is inhabited by a tribe of some of the fiercest and most warlike of the clans of India, and even now, after the punishment inflicted on it by three English expeditions on a large scale, their good conduct is always a matter of doubt. In 1772 their depredations in Cooch Behar necessitated the despatch of a small force against them, and, remembering the difficulties of warfare in such a country as Bhutan, the success obtained on this occasion was exceptionally great. In one brief campaign they received a severe defeat in the field, and their chief town Tassisudon was placed in jeopardy, when instructions arrived from Calcutta to grant a truce to the disheartened mountaineers. The Deb Rajah, or ruler of Bhutan, finding himself unable to stem the tide of British invasion, sued the Teshu Lama of Tibet to come to his aid. In answer to that application this priest-ruler sent a letter and a small embassy to Calcutta, and Warren Hastings, occupied in far more important affairs in Central India, was not loth to call away the troops he needed so much elsewhere, from barren achievements in the mountains of the north. Yet, with the promptitude that characterised all his movements, he seized the opportunity thus afforded him of learning something of Tibet and its people, and in accordance with instructions, of the kind that, we are led to believe, Prince Bismarck dictates for the guidance of his representations in foreign capitals, Mr. George Bogle set out on that journey which was intended to place the secrets of Lhasa at the disposal of our Governor-General. The Teshu Lama of Tibet, although nominally on an equality with the Dalai Lama, is in fact a kind of Viceroy in the southern division of the country, and exercises, as it would appear, little or no influence upon the foreign policy of Tibet. This is the more to be remarked, as the Teshu of Bogle's time was a man of exceptional ability and piety. His opinion ought to have carried great weight; and that his fame was widespread, is proved by the fact that the Emperor of China, the mighty Keen Lung, sent for him to come and see him at Pekin before he died. It would be instructive to know what these two men conversed upon, what topics were of mutual interest to the man who had gained every thing by war, and to the man whose reputation was founded on peace and good will to all. The lesson to be learnt from this is that Lhasa is supreme, and that the Teshu Lama is for us not the potentate to whom we should address ourselves when we effect an entrance into his country. Matters may also have changed since the days of Bogle, and the present Dalai Lama, no longer a child, although it is now rumoured that he is one and the puppet of a scheme, such as Gesub Rirmboché was, may combine the power of supreme ruler with the peculiar personal claims to consideration that attached to the Teshu who was Bogle's consistent friend. In the reception of our envoy so much depends on the inclinations of the Dalai, that it is doubly to be regretted that we know nothing whatever of the present holder of the title. The point in Bogle's mission which is lost sight of is, that it was ostensibly sent to the Teshu in response to that which had come from him, and that the reception it received at Teshu Lumbo was cordial in the extreme. It would almost appear that Warren Hastings had forgotten the dual form of Government in Tibet, and that he conceived he was dealing, in the Teshu, with the recognised sovereign of the country. If so, his representative was quickly undeceived, for all his efforts to obtain permission to go on to Lhasa were in vain. Bogle's mission to the Teshu was an unqualified success, but when he sought to extend it into an official visit to the Dalai, he was unable to accomplish his object. The Teshu Lama asked a favour of the Governor-General, who granted it. The Teshu extended his hospitality to the messenger of the ruler of India, and moreover contracted a personal friendship with him which was unimpaired long years afterwards. With all of this the Dalai had no concern. It is probable that nothing was known of these negotiations at Lhasa until Mr Bogle's request came, to be allowed to visit it. The nett result of this mission was that the introduction of the book of Tibetan history was temptingly exposed, and then that it was closed, to all seeming, more firmly than before. On one occasion afterwards Mr. Bogle made a fresh effort to accomplish that wherein he had previously failed, and he was again assisted by the influence of the Teshu. Whether the opposition came from the Chinese governors, or from the palace of the Dalai, he was once more compelled to forego any hopes he may have indulged in of visiting Lhasa. Yet neither Warren Hastings nor Mr. Bogle was daunted by adverse fortune, and at one moment it seemed as if their resolution was to be rewarded. When the Teshu, in 1779, set out for Pekin, he in the kindest manner possible, wrote to Mr. Bogle asking him to go round to Canton, where he would use all his influence with the Emperor to obtain his permission for the English representative to proceed to Pekin. He could then return with the Teshu to Tibet, and thus visit the abode of the Dalai Lama. The Teshu did approach the Emperor on the subject, and paid a high tribute to the moderation of the English in their dealings with Bhutan. But in the midst of these negotiations the Teshu died suddenly, of small-pox, it was said at Pekin, and Mr. Bogle himself did not long survive his friend. With their death the most favourable opportunity of exploring Tibet passed away, and the motive power supplied by the Teshu's friendship for Bogle, and the latter's sympathy with the Lama being removed, it required a greater effort on the part of Warren Hastings to keep the question before the eyes of his countrymen. Yet this extraordinary man in no way relaxed in his determination to solve the trans-Himalayan question, and was not long in search of a pretext for a renewal of those overtures to Tibet which, he was convinced, must in the end be crowned with success.

Although terms had been granted to the Deb Rajah of Bhutan, negotiations were still pending between him and the Government of India. Several districts, originally forming part of this State, were still held by British troops, and an English official was in treaty with the native court at Tassisudon. The intercourse with Bhutan necessitated some communication between Tibet and our representatives, and at last in 1782, the news reached Calcutta that the person into whom the never-dying spirit of the Teshu had passed had been found. This time the potentate with whom we had to deal was no experienced man of the world, but an innocent child, in whose predilections no faith could be placed, and who was incapable of affecting the question of Anglo-Tibetan intercourse in one way or the other. Warren Hastings at once recognised the necessity of seizing the chance that was again offered him, and, as the road to Tibet was still open through Bhutan, he permitted no delay to retard its execution. In January 1783, accordingly, Captain Samuel Turner, a connexion of the Governor-General, left India for Bhutan with a message of congratulation to the new Teshu. After a delay of some months in Bhutan he, by the same route as that followed by Bogle, entered Tibet, and proceeded to Teshu Lumbo. It was not till the month of September of the same year that Turner entered Tibet, and, when he reached his destination, he found that the new Teshu was residing some distance from the town. He was, however, received cordially by the Regent, who remembered Mr. Bogle, and one thing is clear from his narrative, and, that is, that the English were in good repute with the Tibetans. The Teshu, beloved by his people, had impressed upon all his followers his admiration for the English, and the Regent had been one of his most trusted counsellors. Captain Turner was therefore well received, and although there was some reluctance manifested to grant him an audience with the Teshu, he was permitted on his departure to make a detour to the monastery of Tarpaling where the Lama resided. While he was staying at Shigatze, a grand ceremony took place, but, although Captain Turner suggested his desire in the most courteous terms to participate in it, the Regent felt compelled to refuse his permission on account of the "jealousy of the Chinese." Purungir Gosain, the intelligent companion of Bogle and Turner, and the friend of the Teshu, was present at this great fête, which was to celebrate the removal of the Teshu from his natal place to the monastery of Tarpaling, which had been specially prepared for his reception. Captain Turner transcribed the Gosain's description, and it will be found in his account of his embassy to the Teshu Lama. Captain Turner spent four days at Tarpaling in December on his way back to India, and he was very cordially welcomed by the parents of the Teshu. If possible, he found a stronger sympathy for his countrymen in the monastery than he had in the city; and the Teshu's father, in particular, manifested extreme good will towards the English. This dignitary, a connexion of the Dalai Lama, had felt "the stings of outraged fortune," and at one time had even thought of taking refuge from his foes in our dominions. The Teshu himself, a child not more than 18 months old, produced a most favourable impression on our ambassador, by both his dignified behaviour, and his fascinating appearance. Although speech was denied as yet to the Teshu, it was impressed upon Captain Turner that he understood all that was said to him. He was told that already had the youthful Teshu attempted to pronounce the word "English" and that "Hastings" should be the next word that he should be taught. Without producing any permanent result, Warren Hastings' second mission served to preserve the remembrance of the first, and might undoubtedly have been most beneficial, had the succeeding Governor-Generals perceived the importance of the question in the same degree that Warren Hastings had. Even with the return of Captain Turner all official intercourse between the courts did not cease, for Purungir Gosain was appointed a sort of diplomatic agent in Tibet for the British Government. In other ways, too, Warren Hastings strove to perpetuate the question of our relations with Tibet, and noteworthy among them may be mentioned the institution of the great fair at Rangpur, which contributed in a great degree to the increase that then occurred in our trade by land with China and Tibet. But very shortly after the return of Captain Turner, Warren Hastings left India, and with his departure a complete revulsion took place in the policy of the Indian Government with regard to this question. Not only was trade with Tibet nipped in the bud by the abolition of the Rangpur fair, and trans-Himalayan affairs tabooed in the council-chamber, but more serious and irreparable mischief was done by the "drifting" policy which then came into vogue.

During the Nepaulese invasion of Tibet we did nothing, although the Teshu Lama sent to inform us of the inroad, and to request our assistance to repel it. The hostility of the Ghoorkas to us was at that time scarcely concealed, and, twenty years later on, we had to undertake their castigation ourselves; yet we refused to restrain the aggressive proclivities of the ruler of Khatmandoo. The task that should have been performed by us, we permitted a Chinese army to accomplish, and we thus not only damaged our reputation in the eyes of the Tibetans, but also permitted Chinese power to be made evident within our own natural borders. Our subsequent intervention did undoubtedly save Nepaul from destruction, but not until it was too late to prevent the imposition of a Chinese tribute, which is still maintained. To that cause may be attributed, more than to anything else, the isolation the Nepaulese Government has since been so consistent in maintaining, while it undoubtedly alienated the sympathies of the Tibetans themselves. Most important of all, perhaps, it gave the Chinese Government the excuse it had been for some time seeking, for increasing the strength of its garrison in Tibet, and the forts at the northern entrances of the principal passes were accordingly occupied and re-fortified. From the intelligent policy of Hastings there was, therefore, a complete revulsion, and no succeeding Governor-General had either the inclination or the power to renew the attempts he had made. The Tibetan problem was shelved, and its solution has now to be commenced almost *ab initio.* It was while this revulsion in the sentiments of the Indian Government was at its height that the third attempt was made by an English subject to reach Lhasa. Thomas Manning, the friend and correspondent of Charles Lamb, had from his youth been fired with a desire to visit and explore China. Whether his attention had been drawn to this subject by the writings of the Jesuit fathers, or by some 'tale from over sea,' we are not informed; but he went to China with the firm resolve to penetrate into the country. At that time Canton was the only port to which Europeans were permitted entrance, and thither went Thomas Manning, full of his one grand idea, in the earlier years of the present century. During a residence of several years' duration he acquired a complete colloquial acquaintance with the language, which he had previously studied both in France and England, and devoted his attention to the customs and prejudices of the people. Gifted with a rare tact and singular powers of observation, Manning ingratiated himself with the mandarins. If any one could have overcome the objections raised to the prosecution of his further travels, one would have supposed it would have been the man who had paved the way to deserved success by such energy and forethought. It was not to be, however; and, although the local authorities were friendly, their veto to his request for liberty to proceed into the interior was not to be overcome. Thwarted at Canton, Manning turned his steps in another direction. He had probably been told that the Chinese Empire extended to the Himalayas, or he may have remembered Lord Cornwallis' intervention on the occasion of the Chinese invasion of Nepaul already referred to. To Calcutta, therefore, he came early in the year 1810, when Lord Minto was Governor-General, and made overtures to the Government for an appointment in some official capacity during his intended journey to Tibet. His offer was met with a decided refusal, and it was in a private capacity, relying solely on his own qualifications and resources, that he set out on his arduous and well-nigh hopeless undertaking. In the fragments of his diary, which Mr. Clements Markham has preserved for us, he comments on what he not inaccurately terms the short-sightedness of the Government in the following sentence:—"I cannot help exclaiming in my mind (as I often do) what fools the Company are to give me no commission, no authority, no instructions. What use are their embassies when their ambassador cannot speak to a soul, and can only make ordinary phrases pass through a stupid interpreter? No *finesse*, no *tournure*, no compliments. Fools, fools, fools, to neglect an opportunity they may never have again!" This bitter expression of disappointment is accentuated by Manning's ultimate success, and we may say here that there is much practical advice suggested in these few lines of his. Our ambassador, whoever may be selected, must, above all things, know the Chinese language, and be skilled in the etiquette of the court. To sum up briefly upon the result of Manning's journey, it is sufficient here to say, that he resided in Lhasa for nearly 12 months, that he saw the Dalai Lama, that he won over the reserve of the people by his kindness and wonderful skill in propitiating their feelings, and that he has left us the only personal record in English we possess of the most interesting portion of the country. But, so far as his desire to break through the close ring maintained by Chinese reserve was concerned, he was again doomed to disappointment. With inferior means at his disposal, and with greater obstacles in his path, Manning had, however, accomplished more than the ambassador of Warren Hastings. With the return of Manning to India a long period of inaction in Himalayan exploration ensued, which has, during the last forty years, been slowly overcome by the devotion of a small band of enthusiasts. So long as there remained a fringe of independent territory between our frontier and that of Tibet, an excuse for continued apathy was easily obtainable, but with our gradual approach to the southern entrances of the Himalayan passes, this was removed. In the time both of Bogle and Manning, the Deb Rajah had to be propitiated, as well as the Tibetans, for, through his dominions lay the only known route to Lhasa. The Nepaulese were far too hostile at that time, and Sikhim was too little explored to admit of any alternative route being essayed. Shortly after the return of Manning our interest in Sikhim became greater, for our decided interference alone saved it from falling into the possession of the irrepressible Ghoorkas. This further increased in 1836, when the southern portion of the little territory was ceded to this country. It was after this year that the extraordinary revival of interest in the relations of these States to India took place, and that many devoted their attention to a question that had been conceived by the brilliant intellect of Hastings, and which the dogged resolution of Manning had striven to bring to a satisfactory termination.

Mr. Brian Hodgson, during his long residence at the court of Nepaul, not content with studying the history of the Ghoorkas and the Newar kings, lost no opportunity of enquiring into the affairs transpiring beyond the Himalayas; and his reputation, which became great in these regions, penetrated even to the Dalai Lama at Lhasa. A correspondence ensued, and the Dalai sent the minister, as a token of his friendship, the manuscript records of the Capuchin fathers who at one time had been established at Lhasa. These Mr. Hodgson presented to the Pope, and they are now deposited in the Vatican. Mr. Hodgson's investigations in Nepaul, which have been lost sight of chiefly through the exclusive policy adopted by the late Sir Jung Bahadur, and Dr. Campbell's in Sikhim, were most instrumental in putting fresh life into the topic. Slowly, but surely, the work henceforth proceeded, and no want of encouragement was able to damp the ardour of those who devoted themselves to the cause they held so dear. In the meanwhile the French priests, Huc and Gabet, had visited Tibet, but their residence in Lhasa was brief. They came from the north of China, and returned in a due easterly direction to Canton; and M. Huc has left us a most interesting description of his own impressions of what he saw. His travels in Tartary and Tibet still form delightful reading, and the activity of the French in this quarter, beyond doubt, gave an impetus to our own movements. It is *à propos* here to mention that Mr. Ney Elias considers the best route to Tibet to be that followed by Huc. That is to say, we must, according to him, abandon all intention of visiting Tibet as a neighbouring State, by going a roundabout journey to enter it as some strange and far distant country. All the arguments in favour of commencing political relations with Tibet fall to the ground, if we are constrained to admit, as Mr. Elias does, that the best road thither is from the Chinese sea. The trigonometrical and topographical surveys of India brought all the influence of science to bear on the question of how far the Himalayan passes were practicable, and the despatch of Indian Pundits to explore, where Englishmen were unable to penetrate, was another step in the right direction. The result of their journeys is still but imperfectly realised; and, indeed, the more important of their reports are still India Foreign Office secrets. Pundit No. 9, Nain Sing, in his numerous visits to Tibetan territory, learnt much of the state of affairs in the country; but of these the details have not been made known. In 1872, however, while at Shigatze, he heard of disturbances having broken out at Lhasa, but the cause of these he was not able to ascertain, nor has it since been made known. The rumour appears to have more foundation which asserts that the Chinese during the past generation have been endeavouring to monopolise all the civil functions in the State, but of the result of this we are also totally uninformed. There is some ground for rather believing that the Chinese have passed more under the influence of the Lamas, than that the latter have sunk into the tools of the former, and a recent Imperial Edict from Pekin with reference to Tibet strengthens this supposition. We are, therefore, in total ignorance of the exact state of affairs in Tibet. We know neither the strength of the Chinese there; nor the extent of the authority exercised by the native rulers. All this has to be ascertained before it will be possible to estimate the future before us with regard to Tibet. We may find that the Chinese are supreme, and that the great Lamas are now but the shadow of a name, and that in consequence of the hostility of the official classes we must once more abandon our design. This is looking at the dark side of things: the 'way how not to do it'; and it is impossible to admit the existence of such obstacles until they have been encountered and proved insuperable. But in this case the far more probable side is of a brighter hue. The Chinese officials would not dare to oppose our entry into Tibet if their Government consented to it; and, once there, it would be our own fault if we could not secure the permanent opening of the passes through Sikhim and Bhutan. The Lamas, whose sentiment is dubious, may without great difficulty be propitiated, as they have been before, and the people who have more to gain by trade than we have, be it remembered, will be only too eager to welcome the return of those days of prosperity which passed away with the Rangpur fair. Let it be known that it is the intention of the Indian Government to revive that annual celebration, and that the roads and bridges shall be maintained in perfect order, a task that will in the first years be expensive, as they have fallen into a state of disrepair through neglect, but which a small toll will afterwards be sufficient to maintain, and there is every reason to believe that commerce will find the outlet it has been so long seeking in this direction, and that a new field for enterprise and international utility, will be opened up to us. In two articles alone intercourse with Tibet might completely revolutionise the trade of India. The wool of Tibet, the finest in the world, and almost inexhaustible in quantity, would create a new industry in Bengal, which would rival that carried on in Cashmere during its most prosperous years; and the tea of Darjeeling and Assam should alone supply the 6,000,000 of tea-drinking people who inhabit Tibet. Indian finance is in no flourishing state, and chances such as these, of adding to the wealth of the people, it is sheer folly to disregard. We must decline, however, to discuss the mineral wealth of a country which geologists tell us is of the most boundless promise. Gold is known, however, to be in common use among the poorest of the villagers. It was at a moment when so many circumstances combined to attract our attention to the land of the Lamas that we received tidings of the departure of a Russian officer to explore a country which is almost a sealed book to ourselves. The possibility of being forestalled by the representative of another power, which, in Tibet, must be considered as an interloper, was not flattering to our self-love. If Colonel Prjevalsky had succeeded, he would, to say the least, have overcome obstacles and difficulties of a far more formidable character than any that would beset a traveller proceeding from India. The credit of an English explorer could not equal that which the Russian would have deserved if he had been successful. That danger is happily averted, but none the less would it appear that our attitude in the matter should no longer be one of apathy. We should have bestowed our plaudits on the successful one, though he might have been a Russian; but now we should take steps that something of the glory may be earned by our own countrymen. Russia's personal concern in Tibet can, under no conceivable circumstances, ever equal our own. If we permit its trade to pass into the hands of the merchants of Urga and Ili, and thus defraud our own subjects of their legitimate rights, we deserve the worst that can be said of us. It is more reasonable to suppose, that, if the Russian Government has any more definite object than the vague desire to increase the trade of its country, it was a wish to strengthen its hands in its relations with China that impelled it to sanction Colonel Prjevalsky's explorations of Tibet and southern China. The intrigues that are said to have been carried on ever since the year 1800 at Urga with the Taranath Lama and the Khalka princes, may yet very possibly bear fruit during any Russian complications that may arise with China; an acquaintance, therefore, with the aspirations of the Tibetan Lama, who claims and exercises a certain supremacy over the Mongolians, is very necessary, and, although no disaffection may exist in Lhasa against the Chinese rule, the Russians are far too prudent to suppose the "dark side of things exists" until it has been proved by ocular demonstration.

In Asia, during the present century, we have publicly proclaimed our desire to confine our attention to strictly Indian affairs, and we have been often compelled to belie our most earnest protestations. Beyond our natural frontiers, the Indus and the Himalaya, we have, it may plausibly be said, never done anything, except through apprehension of Russia's designs. Once more the truth of that assertion is being brought home to us. If we had convinced ourselves that there was any one State in Asia destined to be free from the intrusion of the Muscovite, we should all have agreed in saying that it was Tibet. Instead of seizing the favourable opportunity to establish relations with Tibet that was thus afforded us, we persistently neglected it. That belief has now been shown to be a fallacy, and the delusion is more or less dispelled. The incentive present in every other Asiatic question for us to put forth our best endeavours, has arisen also in the case of Tibet, and now that we are compelled to recognise this fact, there should be no sluggishness shown in obtaining the reinforcement of the Tibet clause in the treaty of Chefoo. Colonel Prjevalsky has failed, indeed, to accomplish his object, and years may elapse before he has a successor. But that is not our standpoint. Our interest in Tibet is of a varied character. It is based on historical, geographical, and commercial considerations, as well as political. With China itself the same influences hold good, only with double force. Through Tibet we may reasonably hope to dispose the Chinese to adopt a more friendly policy towards us along the whole of our land frontier. Without accepting any risk, for that will have been obviated by the first expression of approval on the part of the Chinese Government, we shall have done more to promote the mutual sympathy of the Governments of England and China than by any other act that can be called to mind. Colonel Prjevalsky may claim admiration at our hands for his intrepidity, and from geographical students a high meed of praise; but if he has inspired our rulers with a spirit of emulation which shall lead them to apply to Pekin for the authority necessary to despatch an envoy to Lhasa, he will deserve still more our gratitude and thanks. The present moment for renewing our old negotiations with Tibet is in many ways peculiarly auspicious, but if permitted to pass by unused, it is doubtful whether in our time it can come again.

D. BOULGER.

ART II.—THE LANGUAGES OF AFRICA.

LIGHT has shone in on every side of the Dark Continent, and it is possible in 1881 to give a sketch of the languages spoken by the unknown millions who inhabit it which would have been entirely out of the power of the most learned of the last generation. It is possible that what is written now will be deemed incorrect or insufficient by the men of the next generation, who will stand upon our shoulders, making use, without acknowledgment, of the results of our labours, and laughing without pity at our mistakes. Be it so. It may help those scholars and critics who are still in their cradles or their boarding schools, if we throw a linguistic net over this vast Continent, and place on record what is known as to the varieties of living speech now spoken by the black, yellow, and brown children of the soil.

Old Homer tells us that the generations of men are like the leaves of the forest. The similitude applies still more to the languages of men. In one sense nothing is so transitory as the life of a language; from another point of view nothing is so enduring, so imperishable as the words of a language. Languages have come into existence, and have melted away like drifting snow: in Asia and in Egypt, thanks to the [illegible] the scribe, some *debris* of these extinct languages have come down to us on the painted or engraved clay and stone, or the papyrus: the pronunciation, and possibly, the ordinary phraseology of the people have passed away for ever: on the other hand, the three consonants, K, T and B conveyed to Moses and his hearers, the idea of "writing" and a "book," and they convey that idea to millions of Arabs, Turks, Persians, Hindus and Malays still. Of what was spoken by men during the six centuries preceding the Christian era, and subsequently, in Asia, Europe and Egypt, we are informed, and we thence know what manner of men they were, but of the language of the people of Africa during these long silent centuries we know nothing more than we do of the humming of their insects, and the howling of their wild beasts. This is a solemn thought: generations of men have lived in vain, if life is measured by the invention of an art, or the propagation of an idea. In imagination we can depicture them, migrating through their grand forests, huddled together in their straw huts, fighting their cruel fights, dancing their wild dances, and giving way to their cruel customs of cannibalism, human sacrifices, and bloody ordeals, but of the form of words which they uttered, the phraseology in which they addressed their divinities, their fellow men, or their families, we know nothing.

The languages which Herodotus heard spoken in Egypt, died away before the Christian era; and with the death of the Coptic, a few centuries back, perished the last echo of the vehicle of ideas of that nation, which was the earliest carver of ideographs on rocks, and the inventor of alphabetic symbols. The Mahomedan invasion of North Africa swept away all traces of the languages and civilization of the great Phœnician colony, and drove into the background the language of the Numidians and Mauretanians. These nations submitted to Rome and Carthage, but at least the remnants of their Hamitic languages have outlived the proud languages of their conquerors, for no remnant of Latin, or of Phœnician, has survived in Africa, except in the shape of inscriptions, or chance words. No neo-Latin, or neo-Phœnician language has come into existence to perpetuate the memory of the foreign conqueror or colony. To the Semitic immigration from Arabia across the Red Sea a longer existence has been given, and the languages of Abyssinia still represent a certain amount of culture. But beyond, over all the rest of the Continent, there is not a vestige of antiquity, not a monument, not an inscription, not a manuscript, not a record of the past, except the oral legends of the tribes and their customs: not a specimen of art, except the cave-paintings of the bushmen: not an evidence of religion, except the weird and reflected light of the Mahomedan invaders across the Sahara, or the crosses, bells, and church ornaments left by the Roman Catholic missionaries in the time of the Portuguese supremacy in Kongo and Mozambique, and now used as fetishes by a people who have relapsed into heathendom and barbarism.

In enumerating the languages of Africa we have thus to deal with the present, and the present alone; how the four great families south of the Sahára got into their present position, we cannot say: we can only deal with them as they are, mark the unmistakeable phenomena which are discovered, and by the process of cautious and warrantable induction, pierce back to a certain extent into an unknown, or dimly discernible past. In prefaces to grammars, written by unpractised hands, or notices about languages in works of travel, astonishment is expressed, and the difficulty of their task is magnified, because the language is an unwritten one, and because it has not been subjected to rules of grammarians. Now the fact is, that the great majority of languages are unwritten, and that the difficulty is felt only in starting and soon got over, and writers on the subject of languages which are written in characters peculiar to themselves, unreasonably enlarge upon the difficulty of mastering the character, which in fact is only felt for a few months. In most countries the ordinary speech of the people is unwritten, and all correspondence and literature are in a separate literary language, such as Persian was once in India, or in a special literary dialect, such as to this day is used is Bangál.

As to the assertion that grammarians formed a language, it is sheer nonsense. Did grammarians, or the early Hellenic poets, form Greek? The grammatical features of a language develop themselves according to the genius of the people, and it is impossible to say why or how this took place. No rules of grammarians could stop the process or accelerate it: it is a great wonder, but such it is. A distinguished authority has written that, after ten years more of study, he adheres to his original opinion, that the language of a tribe comes into existence, *as the result of a single blow of the enchanter's wand*, and springs instantaneously from the genius of each race. The invention of language is not the result of a long and patient series of experiments, but of a primitive intuition, which reveals to each race the general outline of the form of the vehicle of speech which suits them, and the great intellectual compromise which they must take, once and *once for all*, as the means of conveying their thoughts to others.

We may also remove from consideration the theory, that nations pass through a kind of progression in the organic development of their language. The Chinese never had a grammar, and has none still. The Semitic languages had an imperfect organism from the beginning, and have it still. Language springs completely armed from the human intellect. History does not present a single instance of a nation finding a defect in its language, and taking a new one deliberately: it is true that, as time goes on, under the influence of civilization and contact with other nations, a language acquires more grace and sweetness and is developed more upon its original lines, but its vital principle, or its soul, is fixed for ever. If this be admitted we must accept another fact, that far from modern languages being the development of a more simple original, the contrary is the case, and all are agreed, that in the earliest period of the history of a tribe, they use a language which is synthetic, obscure, and so complicated, that it is the object and effort of succeeding generations to free themselves from it, and adopt a vulgar tongue which is, indeed, not a new idiom, but a transformation of the old one. The remark is made by many that, because the Zulu language is highly developed, accurate, and full, and the people who use it are savages, therefore the race must have once possessed a higher civilisation, which is now lost, and that the perfection of the language can be in no other way explained. It would be a great and mischievous error to accept such a conclusion. The Zulu race have still their national life to live, and they are not the survivals of an extinct civilisation. Far from being surprised at the wonderful native luxuriance, as of wild flowers, of uncultivated languages spoken by a savage people, we must accept it as a well recognised phenomenon. The further we trace back language, with some few exceptions, the greater the wealth we find in its forms: as it grows older, it throws them off. Business, and the necessity of economy of time, compel the speakers to do so; if it dies away from the life of men, like the Sanskrit and Latin, the new languages, which spring like a Phœnix from its ashes, do without the synthetic forms, and use substitutes. Doubt as we may, and argue as we like, there must be a vitality in the intellect of a race, endowed with a power of clothing ideas in word-forms, and a logical completeness of thought, acting unconsciously and working through the whole diapason of sound and orbit of reason, and all without any self-consciousness, and without the operators being aware of of the work which they are guided by reason to do. Thus it has come to pass that nations, hopelessly separated by centuries of years and thousands of miles, unconsciously arrive at the use of the same forms. At the first glance the first man who takes notes of the vocables which are used by those around him in Central Africa, records with surprise, that the savages have a grammar to their language: as grammar is but the marshalling of words, which are but the reprsentatives of ideas, it is no more wonderful that he has a grammar, than that he has gymnastics, which are but the marshalling of the limbs, which are a distinct representation of ideas. And if the idea is thoroughly grasped, of certain natural processes of clothing ideas in words and sentences being inherent in the unassisted human intellect, all vain attempts at finding affinities betwixt races which never have possibly come into contact, may be lightly brushed aside for the simple reason, that the creative genius of each tribe drew upon the intellectual materials which were the common property of the human race.

Let it not be supposed that the study of languages of savage races, while still as it were in solution, and unfettered by the bondage of contemporary literature, or the recorded testimony of monumental inscriptions and papyri, is useless and leads to no further knowledge of the history of the human race, which is after all the end and object of all science. On the contrary, it is priceless. It is the voice crying from the wilderness:—"We are men, the same in weaknesses, strength and "passions as you are; we are men, such as your ancestors

CRCU. 44

"were before the dawn of your civilization; we are men, who may "become such as you are, if we have but the chance given to us; "we have held our own against the beasts of the forest and the "river; we have founded communities, established customs with "the force of law: we have unconsciously developed languages "and dialects, differentiated, by delicate tests, some of them, "like the Bantu, controlled by euphonic laws, rivalling those "of the great Aryan race, some of them, like the language of "Hottentot and Bushmen, disgraced by clicks, which are alien "from human speech, and belong to the brute rather than to the "man." Such considerations rouse the deepest sympathy in the heart of the philanthropist and the philosopher: in tapping these sealed fountains, he approaches nearer to the sources of the human intellect; he catches, as it were, Nature alive, and drops a lead into deep waters where there is still no bottom.

The mere perusal of the names of the languages known, partially known, or totally unknown, while there exists a certainty of there being scores of languages of which the names even are unknown, ought to deter speculators from lightly discussing the problem of the origin of language, and induce them to remit that momentous question to the next generation which, at least, will have more abundant materials upon which a judgment may be formed. We can but argue from the known to the unknown, and the past can only be deciphered by a careful examination of existing phenomena. How can we presume to speculate upon the laws which regulated the growth and decay of languages two thousand years ago in the dim twilight of history, if we neglect the study of what is happening under our eyes, if we open them? How profound is the lesson that may be learnt from the examination of the reasons why and how a certain portion only, and that portion the strongest and most independent, of the great Bantu family, adopted the clicks of the debased Bushman? How came it about, that members of tribes so closely allied as the Zulu and Basuto are, by the action of euphonic law, mutually unintelligible, while travellers from one sea to the other across regions never before traversed, from Zanzibar to Kongo, were mutually intelligible? Questions of the most interesting character offer themselves at every corner of the subject: men of this generation can only look over the precipice, or across the yawning gulf, and wonder how it came about.

Fifty years ago all the information which we possessed, of the languages spoken in Africa at any time since the Creation might conveniently have been tied up in a small bundle. The old Egyptian had not been deciphered: the Punic and Tawarik

GS 1419.

inscriptions had not been discovered. Arabic was generally known as the language of North Africa, but before the conquest of Algeria by the French nothing was known of the indigenous tribes of North Africa. Of the long stretch of coast from the Red Sea to the Cape of Good Hope, absolutely nothing was known; from Cape Verd to the Cape of Good Hope on the west side, little was known of a practical character south of the Equator, but the existence of grammars and dictionaries of the languages of Angola and the Kongo, prepared two centuries previously by the Portuguese missionaries, was a recognised bibliographical fact—and a curious sight in large libraries by the side of a few Ethiopian books of the same date and stamp. As to the languages of the negro race north of the equator, absolutely nothing was known. So much for the past.

Extensive as have been of late geographical discoveries (and the geologist, botanist, ethnologist and linguist follow the great explorer, picking up the crumbs), still we cannot say that we either possess a grasp on the whole linguistic area, or have got possession of the details. The languages of Africa have not yet found their proper place among the languages of the world. No satisfactory description and classification, based upon scientific grounds, has yet been given to the public, though there are some scientific studies on certain portions of the field. The people of Africa belong to a great many totally different races: no wonder that the distinctness of the difference of their languages from each other is more marked than meets us elsewhere. The confusion of so many, and such distinct, languages in the northern half of the Continent is so great, that it seems hopeless to let light into the chaos and to classify the separate languages. In Asia and Europe we have the language-traditions of many centuries and an unbroken supply of monumental or literary evidence: in Africa there is nothing. Such is the recorded opinion of one of the greatest scholars of comparative philology.

It is self-evident that Africa must have been colonized from North to South: tribes were pushed forward into the interior, and their forms of speech became modified. The procession must have been in a long course of centuries from the North, and the oldest races were pushed to the extreme South, broken up into fragments, which survive in the lowest possible form of human existence, or were totally extinguished. While, on the one hand, the Egyptians occupy the first rank as the very oldest of nations which history has preserved to us, on the other hand, neither on the East Coast nor the West, even up to the time of Ptolemy the geographer, did the knowledge of the antients, extend very far. Old Homer had grasped one fact, that there were Ethiopians on both sides of the Continent towards the rising and the setting sun. The existence of negroes is placed beyond doubt by the monuments in Egypt, and it is in Africa alone that the negro is found.

But it would be an error to suppose that the typical negro represented the whole population of Africa, or occupied the largest portion of that Continent. The ethnologist who examines the physical features of the races, informs us that in Africa there are two varieties of woolly-haired races, the fleecy-haired, and the tufted, and that there exist also lank curly-haired races. The linguistic division is six-fold, and, applying it to the ethnological characteristics above described, we find the following division of the population of Africa :—

1.	Lank curly-haired races		...	Semitic family of languages.
2.	Ditto	Ditto	...	Hamitic group of languages.
3.	Ditto	Ditto	...	Nuba-Fulah group of languages.
4.	Woolly, fleecy-haired races		...	Negro group of languages.
5.	Ditto	Ditto	...	Bantu family of languages.
6.	Woolly, tuft-haired races		...	Hottentot Bushman group of languages.

The use of the words Family and Group is made advisedly with reference to the existence, or non-existence, of proved affinity of the languages of each category to the other, and a presumed descent from a common stock, which can only be predicated of the Semitic and Bantu. A group is formed of elements not necessarily homogeneous, but it is the only method of discussing a subject of such gigantic proportions as the present.

From the contemporaneous operation of several great causes, the isolation in which Africa had remained for so many centuries, began half a century ago to be removed. The opening of the Overland Route to India opened out the coast of the Red Sea and Egypt generally, and the fashion began to spread, of making excursions up the Nile. France fixed permanent hold upon Algeria. The resolute, fruitless, but at last triumphant determination of England to put down the slave-trade, drew attention to the West Coast from the River Senegal to the River Cunéne, which had been the great nurseries of the traffic. The occupation of the Dutch settlement of the Cape of Good Hope as an English colony, engaged in constant warfare, but always increasing its territory, discovered to the astonished world the existence of the noble savage, called by the generic name of Kafir. The Portuguese colonies of Angola on the West, and Mozambique on the

East, remained sunk in hopeless decay, but on the East Coast, North of Cape Delgado, the Government of British India, by force of circumstances, and its supremacy in the Persian Gulf, came into contact with the Mahometan Arab State of Zanzibar, ruled over by a younger and dependent branch of the Chief of Muscat. Gradually we became aware that the slave-trade was as rampant on the East Coast as on the West, very much owing to the industry and capital of Indian subjects of the Queen of England, which rendered our interference to stop such a scandal necessary. It will thus be perceived that a cord was tightening round the whole Continent. Scientific exploring of unknown regions, and the expansion of commerce, not always of a legitimate nature, were two of the great factors which set individuals in motion in the wake of the impetus given by the action of the English Government on the West, South, and North of the Continent.

But when peace was restored to Europe in 1815, and it was felt that the time had come to put a stop to the intolerable wrong of the slave-trade, the people of England, Germany, and some of the smaller Protestant States of Northern Europe felt that this was not enough to expiate and atone for the evil done to Africa by our ancestors; that it was a second and more invidious evil to pour in at every African port cargoes of rum and firearms; and the missionary spirit, which had been so long dormant in Christ's church, and had never existed at all in the English churches, burst out into a bright flame, and every denomination of Protestants sent out missions to Africa: the citizens of the United States of North America joined in this grand crusade. No leave of the Government to which the missionaries belonged was solicited, or was necessary: no license of Governors of colonies, or independent chieftains was waited for: The missionary, male and female, with appliances of education, industry, and civilization landed at every port, the estuary of every river, in places where the merchant had not yet sent his agents, among tribes sometimes so fierce, that it required all the meek firmness of Christian men to control their passions, and sometime so degraded, that nothing but Christian love would induce educated Europeans to associate with them. The history of missionary enterprise in Africa has still to be written: how many a gallant soldier of Christ lies in an unknown grave, the victim to his zeal and the climate. It is too long a story to dwell further on here. I should be glad on some future occasion to return to it, but to the quiet and holy labour of these good men we are indebted for our knowledge of the languages of Africa.

The map of Africa has become so familiar to me, and the history of the labours of the explorer and missionary so present to my mind that, as these lines flow from my pen, the great drama of Africa, re-discovered and re-conquered, seems to rise as a vision before my eyes. I see the long procession of heroes of modern times, who were not unwilling to jeopardize their lives in the great cause—from the early pioneers, Bruce and Mungo Park, down to Livingstone and Stanley. Some have blamed Livingstone for leaving his narrow and useful missionary duties, his schools and chapels, his catechists and catechisms, and starting forward to the East and the West and to the North, to reveal the existence of new systems of lakes and rivers, and discover secrets that had been concealed since the commencement of history. He became the great pioneer and the parent of missionaries, which sprung up from the drops of sweat which fell from him in his laborious journeys. Some have blamed the great traveller Henry Stanley for meddling with missionary matters which did not fall within his knowledge, and yet the trumpet tones of his letters from the capital of King Mtesa woke up an echo in England, and these two great heroes, Livingstone and Stanley, have indirectly advanced our linguistic knowledge of Africa beyond any other living men. And one other trace of character unites them, the deep-rooted sympathy with the people which irradiates all the narratives of the great missionary, and many portions of the narrative of the great traveller.

For myself, I never see on the platform the great black beard of Horace Waller, the chronicler of Livingstone, and hear his eloquent voice, but the vision rises up before me of the great African plains, the vast rivers, the sad looking mountains, the villages composed of straw bee-hives, with the palm tree and the Baobab, the prickly pear and the Euphorbia, and the men and women clothed in their simple nakedness, with their fanciful hair costumes, their spears, and their bows. I see the long row of porters carrying burdens, and the European plodding afterwards, with his attendant carrying his rifle, on foot, or sometimes riding on the back of a man through the swamps, or carried in a rude litter. Sometimes I see in the jungle the long koffle of slaves being marched down to the coast, or the poor broken down slaves fastened together and left to die, or be eaten before death by wild beasts; and still, in spite of all this cruel oppression, though this unhappy country seems for centuries to have been forgotten by God as well as by man, nothing is more striking than the traces of goodness, light-heartedness and gentleness of character which seem to crop up on every page of every narrative, and, in spite of the very hopelessness of the case, hope for better things seems to remain. Something must be done to create a sustained interest in Africa: each one of us must feel that we have a debt to pay back, and an interest to do something to advance our knowledge of this country.

Language has an intimate connexion with the advancement of arts, manufactures and commerce: the disclosures made in the course of the study of a language, throw a light upon the social and intellectual characteristics of the people who use it. The appearance of certain words, more or less transformed, in the mouths of a tribe suffered to be cut off from communication with the outer world, tell a tale of some intercourse which history has not recorded, and the presence and even absence of certain words, has an historical value. That the Mpongwe and Kongoese languages on the West Coast should have such affinities with the Swahéli on the East Coast, in spite of the pathless regions which lie between, and the total ignorance of the people of sea-faring, is an evidence of unity of origin which there is no getting over. After all, the commerce of thought is the greatest and oldest form of commerce that the world can have known, and no manufacture is older or more wide-spread, or more ingenious, or represents more clearly the line betwixt man and beast, than the manufacture of words, which has been going on without ceasing, ever since the world began.

I do not presume to claim a personal knowledge of any one of the several hundreds of the languages of Africa which pass under review, except Arabic, which is an imported alien. Perhaps it is as well. It is said of a librarian that, if he opens a single book, he is lost, for he is apt to waste upon the *unit* the sympathy and devotion which is required for *the whole.* I felt this when some years ago I studied the subject, and then wrote in this Review on the languages of the East Indies; an intimate knowledge of the languages of the Aryan family was no excuse for a too imperfect knowledge of the Non-Aryan, and rather served to make the latter more conspicuous. Besides the linguist approaches a subject such as this with the feelings of a botanist, rather than of a market-gardener. He does not know how to set potatoes or grow them, but he knows the characteristics of the tubers, and the place which they occupy in the botanical world, and he gathers this knowledge from the pages of esteemed authorities. In this manner linguistic statements rest, not upon the individual speculation of the writer, but upon the practical collection of facts by missionaries in the field, classified and arranged by one of the greatest living comparative philologists, Dr. Friederich Müller of Vienna. In his famous work, "Ethnologie Algemeine," the whole of Africa is embraced, and placed in its proper place with the rest of the world; but two other great

German scholars have entered fully into distinct corners of Africa, Bleek on the languages of the South, and Lepsius on the languages of the North-East; and a great diversity of opinon is found to exist among these learned men, and a great many nuts have to be cracked before any degree of finality can be attained. All that can be done in this generation is provisional. It cannot be said with regard to any subdivision of the subject, that we have at our disposal the material for forming a deliberate opinion. Each traveller has brought home the names of new tribes speaking languages unintelligible to his followers, and to their neighbours, a few marches behind or onwards. In some cases a scanty vocabulary represents all that we know of the words, and a doubtful entry in a map is all that we know of the habitat. Now the two elementary requisites for linguistic knowledge of the lowest order, are a language map showing distinctly the whereabouts of the people, and a vocabulary of some extent, showing distinctly the words which they use, taken down on the spot, or from the lips of individuals to whom the language was their own proper tongue, in habitual and actual use. In these simple requisites our knowledge of the languages of Africa lamentably fails: we know of the existence of tribes to the East, West, North and South of certain other tribes, and we know that their language differs from any language known, and that interpreters are necessary, and there our knowledge ceases. We cannot omit mention of the existence of such a language; we presume that it belongs to the same group or family as its neighbours, because we have no proof to the contrary, but the whole subject is uncertain. We have, in short, very much the same knowledge of the languages of Africa, that a geologist has of the surface of the globe, *i.e.*, a tolerably accurate acquaintance with the language of the coast all round the Continent, with an occasional peep here and there into the interior, and a visionary speculation on the subject of the centre.

The ancient nations of Europe and Asia have left records of their languages, as spoken in old times, in literature or monumental inscriptions. With the exception of Egyptian, Ethiopian, the Punic of Carthage, and the Tamaseq of Libya, Africa has no record of the past. The seedplot of all the existing alphabets of the world is found in the hieroglyphics of Egypt, but no other native of Africa has devised, adopted, or modified an existing form of writing used elsewhere. The Semitic family brought with it its well known form of character, which spread with the Mahomedan religion to the Hâmitic, Fulah and negro groups, and the Swahili of the Bantu family. The Ethiopian syllabarium degenerated into the modern form of the Amharic, but found no favour among the other Semitic and Hamitic languages of Ethiopia. The old Libyan form of script is known to us only by monumental inscriptions, and the modern form has a very limited use. On the West Coast a peculiar form of syllabic writing was invented not many years ago by the Vei tribe, and excited more interest than it deserved, for it is merely an adaptation of a European method, and not an original conception; and when once the idea of representing sounds by symbols has been invented, it matters not what the symbols are, so long as they are well understood. The Roman alphabet, as specially modified by Lepsius, has been generally adopted by missionaries, and a century hence will be the ruling written character of the Continent. From the above remarks it will be gathered that, in considering the languages of Africa, we have no means of comparing the past with the present: our task is reduced to acertaining and recording what we find spoken by the people, and reducing the record to such an order of classification, as will harmonize with our previous conceptions of scientific requirements.

We accept the classification of Dr. Friederich Muller of Vienna, because it is the only one which embraces the whole Continent, and because it commends itself to the judgment. It is not universally accepted, being too simple for some, who would seek a classification based on the intricacies of structure, or such grand cardinal features as the absence or presence of distinction of gender. To others it is not simple enough, for they recognise only two elements in the languages of Africa, the alien element of the North, and the indigenous element of the South. There may indeed be some truth at the bottom of this theory, and it may be presumed that there existed at some remote period, a dark race totally distinct in race and language from the fair race which invaded the continent from Asia, coming in succeeding waves, at long intervals, and intermixing with the indigenous race. We can, however, only deal with facts, and Friederich Muller exhibits these facts with sufficient accuracy in his six families or groups recorded above, which we will now proceed to describe in detail, after turning aside for a brief instant to notice the alien languages of Europe and Asia, which have in modern times found their way to the Coast, and established themselves permanently, pushing aside, in some cases, the indigenous languages, or intermixing with them, so as to give birth to new jargons.

While some languages, in which law was once given to Northern Africa, are no longer heard, such as the Egyptian, Phœnician, Ethiopian, old Persian, Greek, Latin and Vandal, other languages are now heard with authority all round the Continent. In Egypt all the great languages of Europe are familiar: in Tripoli and Tunis, Turkish, Italian and French are spoken. In Algeria and Morocco, French and Spanish have domiciled themselves, and the vast number of Jews in the North of Africa have imported Hebrew. Along the West Coast we find Portuguese in the island groups of the Azores, Madeira, and Cape Vert, and on the mainland, far into the interior, Portuguese is often the vehicle of written communication; at the Court of Muata Yanvo, the Cazembe, and Sepopo on the upper Zambezi, travellers mention having found that language spoken, and hundreds of negroes make use of it in the colonies of Angola and Mozambique on the East Coast: the language has left as enduring a mark upon Africa as upon India, and it is probable that this vernacular has a far greater expansion in Asia, Africa, and America than in Portugal. The Spanish has become the language of the Canary islands, Fernando Po, and to a certain extent, the delta of the Niger. The influence of French is felt in the colony of St. Louis on the Senegal river, and in the settlement on the Gabún; and it is remarked by competent judges, that the Neo-Latin languages are pronounced by the African with fairly correct pronunciation, and do not become degraded into jargons as the English and Dutch do. The latter language has played a remarkable part in the history of South Africa. Some of the Hottentot tribes have adopted the Dutch language in supersession of their own: it is a very different dialect from that spoken in Holland, with its corrupt form of words, misuse of words, barbarous mode of expressions, and daring defiance of grammar: to such an extent has this prevailed, that a grammar of Cape Dutch has been published at Cape Town. This language has further expansion before it, and may probably be one of the leading languages of the future in South Africa.

The English language has a daily increasing expansion and influence as an instrument of education, a medium of commerce not only betwixt Africans and strangers, but betwixt African tribes speaking distinct languages. All liberated slaves from North America speak English more or less pure: the Krumans, who play so large a part in navigation, speak broken English. On the East Coast the influence of English will be still greater, as no other European language has penetrated into the interior. A remarkable feature, brought into particular notice by Sir Bartle Frere, is the prevalence of the Hindustani language. From Zanzibar round by Madagascar and Mozambique, and up to Cape Guardafui, there were not half-a-dozen exceptions to the rule, that every shopkeeper was an Indian. Voyagers from India can converse everywhere with the whole body of retail dealers and local merchants in Hindustani and Gujarati, and their accounts were

CALCUTTA CENTRAL LIBRARY
CALCUTTA CENTRAL

made up in Gujarati and Kachí. In fact, the whole trade is in the hands of the industrious and wealthy classes, who, in spite of the reputed prejudice of Hindus to the sea, find their way to East Africa. These alien influences must greatly affect the future vernaculars which will struggle for life on the North, South, East and West coasts of Africa. Unsupported by any indigenous literature, and many of them incapable of receiving it, scores of petty languages will disappear in the general assimilation that will go on. As we advance in our survey we shall remark, that certain potent languages must and will hold their own, and are already becoming, under the plastic hand of the missionaries, mighty elements of culture, which will swallow up, or tread out, their weaker and less gifted neighbours. It will be an interesting linguistic spectacle to watch—for doubtless the same process did take place many centuries ago—both in Europe and Asia, and we remark the outcome of the struggle, but the details of the process are lost to us.

I. The Semitic family (for it is a family in the strictest sense of the word) is well known. It resembles the Indo-European in being inflexive, but its method of inflexion is quite peculiar; it is most beautiful and symmetrical, but no explanation has ever been given of its origin. We find it in full development in its earliest records. The Book of Genesis gives an account of the creation of the world, but the words used for that account indicate a language in a very high state of development, and this characteristic is sharply brought out by contrasting the refined mechanism of the speech used by Moses with contemporary Egyptian records. The influence of the Semitic on the Hamitic group, or *vice versâ*, as some assert, is of the slightest. The Semitic nation was at all times alien in Africa, but it received from Egypt the precious gift of alphabetic writing, which it handed on to the rest of the world, as if it were of its own proper invention. There are two branches of the Semitic family, that of the North coast of Africa and of Abyssinia.

The Semites possessed the eastern flank of the Nile valley from a remote period. The notorious subjugation of Egypt by the Hyksos, and the descent of the Hebrews into Egypt, have left no linguistic traces in Africa; but the colonisation of Carthage from Phœnicia has left its indelible trace in monumental inscriptions, in spite of the attempt of the Romans to destroy all trace of the foreign culture of their defeated rival. Centuries later the Arabians conquered the whole northern coast of Africa beyond even the pillars of Hercules, and Arabic supplanted the old Egyptian language in the Nile valley, and pushing aside, if not destroying the Hamitic languages of Numidia and Mauretania, became the dominant language of Tripoli, Tunis, Algeria, and Morocco, with a distinct dialectic variation from the pure form of the Arabian desert and the Korán. A third Semitic invasion of Africa took place from South Arabia across the Red Sea, and is known as the Ethiopian, or Geez, the language of Abyssinia. In course of time the ancient form of speech gave way to the modern Tigre and the cognate Amharic. These are spoken by a Christian population in a retrogade state of culture. Travellers have brouht to notice two other distinct Semitic languages, the Harári, and Saho on the flanks of Abyssinia, but of no importance.

The influence of the Arabic extends far beyond the limits of the settled populations of particular kingdoms. It is the vehicle of thought over the greater part of Africa, either in the mouths of the Bedouin nomads, who surprise the travellers by their unexpected appearance, or of invading conquerors, such as the Sultan of Zanzibar; of enterprising merchants, such as the slave dealers, who are generally half-bred Arabs; of dominant races, such as that of Waday in Central Africa; and lastly, it is the instrument of the spread of Mahometanism, and of whatever culture existed independent of European contact. Up to this time it has had entirely its own way, both as a religious and as a secular power, but it may be presumed that its progress will now be checked by the powerful intrusion of the English, French and Dutch languages, and the resuscitation and culture of the numerous strong vernaculars which are ready to the hand of the European civiliser and instructor. The Arabs have left names in their language, Kabail, Kafir, and Swaheli, which can never be forgotten.

For the study of these languages we have ample supplies of grammatical words from the hands of great German scholars, and we have translations of the scriptures in Arabic, Amharic and Tigre.

II. The Hamitic languages come next in order; they are presumed to be aliens from Asia, but at so remote a period that the tradition fails. It may be bold, in the present state of our knowledge, to call this subdivision a family; it will be safer to style it a "group," with marked resemblances. It may be subdivided into three sub-groups—(1) Egypt; (2) North Africa; (3) Ethiopia. They probably have linguistic relations to each other, but they have not as yet been worked out so as to win universal concurrence, in the sense that the inter-relation of the Semitic languages is admitted as a fact of science. All the languages of the first sub-group have passed away from the lips of men; the Coptic died some centuries ago, and has a galvanised existence as the vehicle of religious ritual; the Egyptian died before the Christian era, and as the tradition of its interpretation died also, it became linguistically extinct, or unintelligible, until revived by the genius of scholars of this century. As records carved on stone exist in this language, fully developed both as to its grammar and triple mode of writing, as far back as 4,000 years before the Christian era, no nation in the world, and no family of languages, can compete with Egypt and the Egyptian on the score of antiquity. Moreover, in the handling of words and grouping of sentences, we become aware that we are dealing with an instrument of thought indefinitely more ancient than the most ancient of Semitic or Aryan records. Egyptian had its day, and under Greco-Christian influences passed into Coptic, which again disappeared before the inroads of Arabic, thus supplying one of the most notable instances of a nation changing its language, as few will doubt that the Fellah of Egypt is the lineal descendant of the Egyptians as depicted in the monuments.

To the west of Egypt, along the coast of the Mediterranean, stretches that vast country known to the ancients as Libya. Herodotus, the father of history, knew about the Libyan tribes, as Greek and Phœnician colonies were settled on the coast. This region was known to the Romans as Mauretania, Numidia, and Getulia. These early settlers outlived the Phœnicians, Greeks, Romans and Vandals, and still struggle against the Arabs, Turks and French. The old Libyan language had no literature; it is dead, and is only faintly guessed at by inscriptions. The region is now known as Tripoli, Tunis, Algeria, Morocco and the great Sahára. In one sense, the name "Berber" may include all the Hamitic forms of speech of this sub-group, but other terms are are met with, either dialects, or separate languages: Kabyle in Algeria, Shilwa in Morocco, Tamáseq in the oasis of the Sahára, Zanága on the frontier of Senegal. The extinct language of the Canary Islands, the Guanch, belonged to this group. The French have contributed a great deal to the knowledge of this branch of the Hamitic group, in which there is an entire absence of culture, and the majority of the population is nomadic and savage.

The Ethiopian sub-group of the Hamitic group lies along the Red Sea, intermixed geographically with the Ethiopian branch of the Semitic family already described. The languages are: the Somáli, Galla, Beja or Bisharí, Fulásha, Dankáli, Agaū and several others. It so happens that some distinguished linguistic and ethnic scholars have resided upon the central boundary of the great language-fields of North Africa. The Victoria Nyanza occupies a remarkable ethnical and linguistic position. It is here that the Bántu, Negro, Nuba-Fulah, and Hamitic groups impinge on each other. Mtesa, King of Uganda, is credited with being of Galla origin, ruling over Bántu subjects. Our knowledge of the tribes to the north of Victoria Nyanza is too imperfect to arrive at any certain conclusions. No Semitic influences have been as yet felt in the culture, religion or language of these races. They are entirely uncivilized, without culture, generally pagan, nomadic, and savage.

German scholars have contributed a great deal to our knowledge of these languages, and we have grammatical notices of several. In this group we have translations of the Scriptures in Coptic, Berber, and Galla. Missionary societies have clung nobly, but with little success, to the hopeless task of making an impression on the Hamitic races in Ethiopia. In this corner of Africa the prospect of improvement under European influences seems to be the least cheering. In spite of numerous attempts at exploration, little addition has been made to geographical knowledge of that dreary region betwixt Abyssinia and the equator. Unlike the Semitic family, the Hamitic group has no recognizable affinity with any linguistic families or groups in Asia. Its existence on African soil dates back to at least six thousand years, and the area occupied is enormous. Lepsius and Bleek would include in this group the Hottentots of the extreme south, opening up questions of unsurpassed magnitude, for the decision of which sufficient materials have not been collected. This is one of the questions which must be left to the judgment of the next generation, when more accurate knowledge will find the link betwixt the pre-Semitic races of Africa and Mesopotamia.

III. We pass to the third group, the Nuba-Fulah, the least well-known, and the most doubtful classification. Up to this time we have dealt with inflexive languages; all that remains in Africa is agglutinative. Ethnologically speaking, the Semitic, Hamitic and Nuba-Fulah belong to "lank, curly-haired" races. All that remains of Africa consists of "woolly-fleecy, or woolly-tufted haired" races. It does not follow that the linguistic fissures should be the same as the ethnic, and we know that the contrary often prevails. Friederich Muller lays it down that this group, whose habitat is partly in the midst of the Negro group, and partly on their northern frontier, is distinctly separate from the Negro, both by physical appearance, and other certain ethnical details. It occupies a position midway betwixt the Hamitic and Negro; and here let it be borne in mind, that the Bántu family is supposed to occupy the same intermediate position; but the Bántu, both in their physical and physiological characteristics, take after their negro progenitors, while the Nuba-Fulah approximate more to the Hamitic. The connexion between the Nuba and Fulah seems by no means certain. Let us consider each separately:

The Nuba sub-group reach from the field of the Fulah family eastward, to the field of the Ethiopian sub-group of the Hamitic group. The pure Nubians now inhabit the valley of the Nile, from the first to the second cataract. They call themselves Barabra, and are Mahometan. Schweinfurth's narrative shows that they are a dominant race, superior in power and culture to the lower pagan races of their group, into whose territory they make inroads as merchants and slave-catchers. It is remarkable that the Nubians must have moved into their present habitat in historical times, as Herodotus does not mention them, and could not have overlooked them had they been there. The name Νουβαι first appears in Eratosthenes, who wrote, in the latter half of the third century B. C. of them as a great people, not subject to the Ethiopians of Meroe; they must have in the interval immigrated from the west. We read of later immigrations of the same race in the time of Diocletian, 300 A. D. The names of other languages, or dialects closely connected with Nubian are given; these races are wholly without culture and literature and imperfectly known, and dwell in the Nile valley. With far less certainty the Shangalla, on the river Takázi and Atbara, known to us by the reports of the Roman Catholic priest Beltráme, and the Wakuavi and Masai, who are made known to us by the Protestant missionaries at Mombása, are included in the Nuba sub-group. Still more hazardous and dependent upon the collection of future material, is the assignment to this sub-group of the numerous tribes whose existence has been revealed to us by Schweinfurth and Junker, on the watershed of the basins of the Nile and the Welle. Unfortunately a fire destroyed all Schweinfurth's linguistic collections. They are the Monbuttu, the Nyam-nyam, the Krej and the Golo. It must be left to the next generation to decide with certainty concerning the language of these tribes. Before leaving the group of Nuba-Fulah, it may be mentioned that it is classed ethnologically with the Dravidian and Kolarian families of India.

The Fulah family is found on the West Coast. The word means "yellow." The Fulah considers himself greatly superior to the Negro, and claims a place among "white men." He is found living intermixed with the Negro from the Lower Senegal in the west to Darfûr in the east, and from Timbuktu and

Haussa in the west to Yoruba in the south. He first made his appearance as a plundering intruder, and he is a Mahometan. In the kingdoms of Sokotu and Gandu there is a Fulah power. The name appears as Pul, Pulo, Fulah, Fulbe, Fellāta, Fuladu. The Fulah race has intermixed with the Negro, which has produced other varieties. Fortunately, we have an excellent grammar by Reichardt, and a translation of some chapters of the Bible by Consul Baikie. Seven varieties of languages or dialects (for it is impossible to say which) are recorded; but Futa-Jallo, on the river Senegal, is accepted as the standard. Its linguistic features are the use of affixes, and the existence of genders, rational and irrational. The languages may be accepted as belonging to one family, and all going back to the same mother-speech.

Here notice must be made of Lepsius' Monumental Work, the Nubische Grammatik 1880, in which the learned old man condenses his experience of forty years, for the writer of these pages met him in 1843 at the great Pyramid during his celebrated scientific exploration, and his attention has been continuously directed to this, his favourite subject, during his long peaceful and honoured life as Professor and Custodian of the Berlin Museum. Besides the Nubian grammar, and a German-Nubian vocabulary, and a translation of a Gospel, and an appendix on the dialects of the Nubian, in a long introduction he passes under review the whole subject of the classification of African languages. With the utmost respect for the opinions of this grand old scholar, it is but just to state that there are too many questionable points of ethnology and comparative philology propounded, to allow of their being accepted otherwise than provisionally or as a basis for future investigation.

IV. From absence of a better name the next group is styled the Negro group, a name unquestionably inadequate. It is, in fact, a conglomeration of totally unconnected component parts, something analogous to the old Turanian in Asia of a quarter of a century ago: a kind of bag into which all languages, which could not be provided for elsewhere, were provisionally flung. Just as the word Turanian has gradually disappeared from Asiatic classifications, or been gradually reduced to the comparatively moderate limits of one family, even so the term "Negro," which is totally insufficient, will disappear, giving way to a scientific, or at least intelligible nomenclature.

We must recollect that the Negro type is a very marked one, and appears distinctly on the monuments of old Egypt 5000 years ago; and, though it may have undergone much admixture in the interior, it is pure on the coast. Of the purity of the languages we cannot speak with certainty. The presence of the Nuba-Fulah from the north, the presence of the Mahometan religion in their midst, the influence of European nations and Americanised Negroes on the coast, must leave an influence. The Haussa is the great commercial language of Central Africa, far exceeding the limits of the region occupied by the Haussa race. It is an isolated language, and has borrowed certain characteristics from contact with Hamitic and Semitic races. It is spoken even as far north as Tripoli. It is attributed by one scholar to the Hamitic group, by another to the Nuba-Fulah, by a third to the Negro group. It might have been presumed that there was a general consensus that these Negro languages were independent of any other group of languages; but so great a scholar as Bleek has laid it down, that some of the Negro languages actually belonged to the same family as the Bántu, and others were related to them. This shows how far we are at present from any certainty, on any portion of the subject, from the absence of sufficient material.

As far as we know they are all agglutinative, but that is but a slight link of connexion; the Negro group by no means extends all over Africa, but it comprises the great bulk of the population. A race with less inherent vitality would have been extinguished by the trials which it has had to undergo, circumscribed to the south and east by the Bántu, pressed upon to the north by the Nuba-Fulah, and deported in millions by the Europeans. The Negro may be said to share with the Bushman the honour of being the original inhabitant of Africa. The tract from the river Senegal to the river Niger is the seat of the pure Negro, but the return from America, or from captured vessels, of freed Negroes of very mixed races, has affected this purity, and some of the mixed races, containing Hamitic, Semitic, and Fulah elements, are the finest.

Everything about the languages of this group must be accepted as provisional. We know neither the extent of the variety of the languages, of their relation to each other, of their dialectical variations, nor have we full information regarding those languages of which we have vocabularies or grammatical notes. We can hardly define the boundaries of the field of languages, and they have absolutely no literature. One thing is clear, that they cannot have been derived from one stock, though all that are known are agglutinative in structure. There must have been many distinct seedplots, for not only does the grammatical structure forbid the hypothesis of any original unity, but there is no such uniformity of vocabulary as would support the idea.

The region extends right across Africa in its broadest extent from the West Coast to the Nile valley, where, four groups of languages meet, somewhere in the 4th or 5th degree of North Latitude.

Not a monument, raised by Negro hand, remains to testify the material greatness of the tribes, or tell of some extinct civilization, as in America or Asia. There is no written character, for the Vei character is merely a modern adaptation of an idea imported from Europe. Proverbs and oral traditions of uncertain antiquity live on the lips of men, but no Negro sage or legislator lives in the recollection of the people. In fact there is no history, and nothing worth recording, and no past, and it is difficult to believe that there is a promise of a better future. But they are not broken races, hiding themselves in the depths of forests, and few in number and poor; on the contrary, their number is as the sands of the sea, nor is the climate insalubrious to them or unproductive, but they have rude agricultural wealth, and mineral wealth is not absent. It cannot be stated as a fact, or even presumed as a probability, that before the outburst of Mahometan proselytism they were oppressed from the outside, as they were inaccessible, and neither Egyptian, Persian, Greek, Roman, or pre-Mahometan Arab could get at them. They are not found to be deficient in intelligence, when trained in European schools, and selected individuals are susceptible of the highest culture. They have been cursed by chronic internal warfare, entire absence of public opinion, or personal independence, domestic slavery, the absence of any kind of exportable manufactures; men and women have not risen to the dignity of wearing decent clothing. No messenger ever came to them with a book-religion, reproving, advising, elevating, holding out examples and warnings: for be it remembered, to the book-religions, however theologically erroneous, Asia is indebted for her civilization. The Negro was never privileged to discover the art of writing, by which his language would have become the handmaid of progress and morality, and he has remained, down to our days, the prey to slavery, cannibalism, witchcraft of the most odious character, and human sacrifices of monstrous abomination.

It must not be supposed that no progress has been made: of some languages of the Negro group we have noble grammars, the work of great scholars: we have numerous translations of the Holy Scriptures, and plenty of religious and educational works: we have grammatical notices of the greatest value and vocabularies of others, but the most competent authorities describe a great many of the languages of which we have sufficient knowledge, as isolated, admitting of no affinity to any other known variety. This by itself suggests that the linguistic phenomena of the Negro region have not yet been fully exposed to view. We do not find isolated languages elsewhere, except in rare cases, and they are generally survivals of extinct families. The vast empty spaces on the map, which have hitherto evaded the pen of the geographer and cartographer, and the tale of every explorer, warn us of the presence of a great "terra incognita" and unrevealed millions. It is like standing upon the sea shore and listening to the confused noise of the waves, or upon a high tower, and listening to the murmur caused by the sound of voices below, for we know nothing for certain with regard to the languages of Negroland. Even the vast collections in the monumental work of Koelle, Polyglotta Africana, for which he received the Volney prize, resemble a handful of shells tossed upon the shore and picked up at random after having been blown far into the interior; for he picked up his knowledge from the frail recollections of released slaves, and his records are of no use until they pass under the hands of the skilful assorter, and not of much use even then.

There has been a constant pressure from the savage tribes in the interior down the river-basins to the sea coast, crushing and breaking up the tribes, which have already reached the coast and tasted the sweets of commerce and low civilization. In the interior are found the raw products which are required for export, and the savage races wish to free themselves from the go-betweens on the coast: thus new languages force themselves into notice. Even with regard to languages well known scholars cannot agree as to their classification, and there is a plentiful crop of linguistic quarrels. It is worthy of remark that the greatest assistance in composing grammars and translating the Holy Scriptures, has been rendered by one who was himself a slave, and, released by British cruisers and trained in British schools, has risen to be a Bishop,—Samuel Crowther.

To render the subject intelligible, three great territories or sub-groups may be carried out in Negroland on purely geographical considerations, and, dividing each into two sections, the name of the chief language can be stated:

I. Western Negroland. From the basin of the River Senegal to the basin of the Quarrah branch of the river Niger.

II. Central Negroland. From the basin of the Binué branch of the river Niger, and of the Lower United Niger, to the basin of Lake Chad.

III. Eastern Negroland. Basin of the upper Nile.

In Western Negroland there are, for sake of convenience, marked off two sections.

I. From the Senegal river to Cape Palmas.

II. From Cape Palmas to the basin of the Lower Niger (exclusive.)

The first section comprises the French and English Colonies of Senegambia and Sierra Leone, the free state of Liberia, and the great languages of Mandingo, Serawullie, Bambara, Vei, Susu, Mende, Woluf, Felup, Bullom, Temne, Sherborough, Haussa and Sourhai, spoken at Timbuktu on the Upper Niger. Some of these languages are the vernaculars of great heathen or Mahometan independent nationalities, of whom individuals are met in the European marts, while countless thousands are beyond European ken, and, in spite of the continuous exertions made by French and English to open a route from the Coast to the Upper Niger, it has not been accomplished yet.

In the Second Section are situated the famous ivory, gold, and slave coasts, with the English colony of Cape Coast castle and Lagos, the terrible kingdoms of Ashanti and Dahomey, the independent republics of Yorubaland, and the kingdom of Nupe on the Quarrah branch of the Niger. Here are spoken the following languages, which are well-known: the Kru, Grebo, Basa, Ewe, Igaruk, Nupe, Yoruba, Odschi, and Akra or Ga, with their numerous dialects and scores of different names.

In the second territory of Negroland there are also two sections:—

I. The basin of the Niger within the limits stated.

II. The basin of lake Chad.

In the former territory our knowledge was restricted to the Coast districts: in this territory we pierce into the interior of Africa, and our information is very incomplete. Commerce and mission work have extended up the delta of the United Niger, but there are no European settlements. The languages spoken are the Ibo, Efik, Okrika, Brass, Bomey, Mbafu, old Calabar, and Mitshi. Above the junctions of the streams we hear of other languages, but the river Binue flows from undiscovered countries, and is one of the problems of the future. Of the basin of lake Chad our knowledge is gathered from the reports of adventurous travellers, like Barth, Nachtigall and others, and we know of the language of Bornu, or Kanuri, Baghirmi, Tibbre or Tedah, Maba, and others with more or less detail. They are but a drop in the ocean of languages and dialects spoken betwixt the Sahāra and the Northern bend of the Kongo, which time must reveal.

The striking feature is, that in this central region we have powerful kingdoms and a certain amount of civilization, but commerce in vain tries to reach it from Tripoli across the Sahāra from the north, or up the Niger from the south. No European foot but that of the hardy explorer, with his life in his hand, has as yet tried these regions.

The third territory comprises more familiar ground, as the whole is nominally under the Khedive of Egypt. The first section comprises the tribes dwelling in the basin of the White Nile, and the second section the imperfectly known tribes of the tracts of the Bahar al Ghazal. They are all downright savages and seem likely to continue so, as the attempt to annex these regions to Egypt and put down the slave trade appears to have produced greater evils in the unhappy country than it had to endure before. For the present, at least, the veil has fallen over these regions, and linguistic knowledge will not advance.

V. We pass on to the Bantu family, for a family it is in the strictest sense, and therefore a mighty contrast to the great unconnected, incoherent group which we have just passed under review. It includes all Africa south of the equator, allowing for the enclave of the Hottentot-bushman group.

The veteran Dr. Krapf claims the merit of the great discovery, that a single family of languages prevailed throughout Africa south of the equator, with certain reserved tracts for the Hottentot and Bushman. It was indeed a great discovery, announced by him in 1845, under the name of the Zinjian, a thoroughly unsuitable name, or Nilotic, a thoroughly inapplicable name. The name Bántu, or "men," is now accepted. In spite of the wide spread of this family from shore to shore, there is unmistakeable evidence in their genius, their phonetics, and their vocabulary, that all the languages had a common mother: they can be dealt with in the same manner as we deal with the Aryan, Dravidian, and Semitic families. Some of the features of the common parent appear in each of the descendants. The language of the Ama Xosa, commonly called Kafir, is allowed for the present to occupy the first rank. However, we must remember that the linguistic and ethnical strata are not always uniform. Some tribes in Lower Guinea speak a Bántu language, though belonging ethnologically to a pure negro type.

The language-field of this family exceeds that of any other, but it would be unsafe to state any, even approximate, idea of the population. New tribes are being made known to us every year. It is entirely independent of any other type of language, having remarkable features of its own. It has been well studied by excellent scholars, both in detail, in separate languages, and as a family by great comparative linguists, such as Bleek and Friederich Muller. It is distinctly agglutinative in method, but also alliteral, and subject to remarkable euphonic laws. It has on its frontier been influenced by alien neighbours, for we find in some languages clicks, borrowed from the Bushman; and on the North-eastern frontier Hamitic influences are felt in conterminous languages. However, so little is known for certain, that the development of this marvellous family must be left to the next generation. Friederich Muller confidently indicates Semitic and Hamitic influences, which must date back to the infancy of the language.

Bleek, who had actual knowledge of the subject, in addition to a profound knowledge of language generally, records his opinion on the characteristics of the family. The words are polysyllabic, and the syllables open: diphthongs rare; of derivative prefixes there were originally sixteen, but only two have a decided reference to distinctions observed in nature, being restricted to nouns respecting reasonable beings, the one in the singular, the other in the plural number. The form of this latter is *ba*, actually or in some other manner obtained from it. There are few adjectives, and in their place, most generally, a particular construction is used. The genitive is denoted by a prefixed genitive particle. The cases are indicated by prepositions; different kinds of verbs are formed by variation of the ending and moods, and the perfect time is indicated in the same way. The most simple form of the verb is the singular of the imperative.

Bleek paid also much attention to the euphonic laws which differentiated one language, or branch of language, of this family from the other. He showed that the languages differed from each other more than the language of the Teutonic and Neo-Latin family differ from each other. The greater bulk of words in each language, though identical in origin, became wholly dissimilar, owing to the action of the euphonic laws which change their form. The grammatical forms are also very different. And this difference is to such an extent, that the Ama Xosa and Bechuàna cannot understand each other, though in the same branch of the family. Bleek took pains to illustrate this new form of what he calls the great "Grimm" law of transmutation of sound in Bántu. There are three clicks in the language of the Kafirland sub-branch.

Some further explanation seems required of the euphonic or alliteral concord, which is so striking a feature. The initial element of the noun, a letter, or letters, or a syllable appears as the initial element of the adjective; the pronoun assumes the form corresponding to the initial of the noun for which it stands; the important part of the inytial of the governing noun is detached to assist in forming the bond of connection with, and control over, the noun or pronoun governed in the genitive; *ex gratiâ*:—

i Zimmi Zami Zi ya li Zua Lizai Lami.
Sheep (of) me they do it hear voice (of) me.

Bearing in mind that vast portions of the territory of the Bántu language-field have only been imperfectly explored, or not explored at all, we adopt provisionally the classification into three branches, the Southern, the Eastern, and Western. Each of these is again subdivided into sub-branches, which are sufficient for present necessities, but which, as regards the Eastern and Western, must be indefinitely extended as time goes on, to admit of proper classification of the scores of languages which come under observation. This classification is mainly based on geographical data.

Each traveller who finds his way from the Eastern to the Western sea, or *vice versa*, or visits the coast of Muata Yanvo at Kabebe, or of the Kazembe at Lunda, or the Kassongo, finds himself in the midst of teeming thousands. New tribes and new languages or dialects are revealed each year. We have the advantage in this family of grammatical works in two of the languages of the West Coast, the Bunda and Kongoese, written by Roman Catholic missionaries in the sixteenth century, which supply a certain standard, by which the influence of time upon these unwritten, and therefore fleeting, vocalisms can be measured. Travellers who have passed from Zanzibar to the West Coast, south of the equator, distinctly record the fact, that communications could be held betwixt speakers of Swaheli and of the languages of West Africa.

The southern branch has been divided by Bleek into three sub-branches: I. Káfirland. II. Bechuána-land. III. Tekeya. The word Kafir was applied by the Mahometan invaders of the East Coast to all the pagan tribes of the interior, and is often used very laxly in linguistic books, but it is now strictly applicable to one tribe only of this sub-branch, the Ama Xosa, celebrated for their constant warfare with the English and Dutch. Closely allied to them are the celebrated Amá Zulu, and the less well known Amaponda, Amafingu, Amazwai, Matabele, Makalala, the ruling tribe in Umzilás kingdom, and the scattered bands of Maviti, or Watuta, known by many other names North of the Zambesi. The two great languages of this sub-branch are thoroughly well known, and have become the vehicle of a large grammatical, devotional, and educational literature, under the influence of the great English and American Missionary Societies.

The Bechuána-land sub-branch comprises the languages of the majority of the vast population which occupies the interior of Africa, south of the tropic of Capricorn, intermixed with bushmen and half-blood tribes. They are separated from the Kafir sub-branch by the Drakenburg range; southward they extended to the Orange River; westward to the Kalahári Desert, and northward as far as the Lake Ngami. Being powerful, they have brought under subjection tribes belonging to the eastern and western branches of this family. There are two divisions of this sub-branch, the eastern and western. The eastern Bechuána tribes are the Basúto. Who speak Sesuto; the Batau, who speak Setau; the Bútsetse, who speak Se-tsetse; the Ba-mapela, who speak Se-mapela; the Ba-puti, who speak Se-puti; the Ba-tloung who speak Se-tloung and others. The western Bechuána tribes are the Ba-rolung, who speak Se-rolung; the Ba-hlapi, who speak Se-hlapi; the Ba-khwena, who speak Se-khwena; the Ba-kaa, who speak Se-kaa; the Ba-mangwato, who speak Se-bangwato; the Makololo; and the Marutse Makonda, on the Zambesi river, described by Dr. Holub. The words of this sub-branch sound harsh, and its pronounciation offers a striking contrast to the melodiousness of the Zulu, to which language, however, it has a greater resemblance than to the Kafir. There are no clicks in this sub-branch, and there is an abundance of linguistic and educational works, for which we are indebted to the missionaries.

The third sub-branch of the southern branch is the Tekeza, spoken to the north-east of the Kafir sub-branch, and some distance to the north of Delagoa Bay, and in the neighbourhood of Lorenzo Marquez. A remarkable linguistic phenomenon is vouched for by Dr. Bleek, that the tribes occupying the entire coast-line of Zululand used to speak Tekeza languages, which they have abandoned in favour of Kafir. Some few of the Natal tribes are said to speak among themselves Tekeza languages. Clicks are unknown, except in those dialects which have come under Zulu influence. The southern and Zuluised tribes of this sub-branch are the Amancolosi, about 2,000 in number, in Natal; the northern are the Amatonga and Ama-hloenga, living near Delagoa Bay. The former seems to be a generic name for a variety of tribes inhabiting the interior of the Portuguese coast. Nothing has been published to illustrate the language of this sub-branch.

It is doubtful whether this sub-branch will stand the test of further inquiry, for, as far as the reports of the explorers of this tract inform us, the dominant races speak Zulu, and the conquered and subordinate races speak Sesuto.

The eastern branch of the Bántu family is the creation of the last twenty years of English and American exploring. No book has yet been written which gives any account of the phenomena disclosed: in the course of the next quarter of a century there will be a rich harvest of accumulated materials. The outlines of the field may be marked with certainty, but it is virgin soil. We have taken the responsibility of dividing it into three sub-branches, based upon geographical features:—

1.—The lower basin of the River Zambési.

II.—Zanzibâr and its adjacent territory, North of Lake Nyassa, and draining into the Indian Ocean.

III.—The basins of the Victoria Nyanza, and Lake Tanganyika as far west as Nyangwe.

The first sub-branch, the Zambési basin, comprises an ever-increasing number of languages spoken by the tribes which come into contact with the missionaries, who have lately invaded that river and Lake Nyassa; the boundary of this sub-branch on the east extends north to an imaginary line separating it from the Zanzibar sub-branch, and on the west as far into Central Africa as the Victoria Falls. Considering the extremely scanty extent of materials, this grouping must be deemed entirely provisional, and only a convenient mode of collecting the names of languages known to exist in a certain territory. It is only by constant study of the narratives of travellers and missionaries that information can be gained, but the scientific character of the informants gives a value to what they state far beyond the random jottings down of the ordinary traveller. So far as it goes, it is accurate, but it goes only a very little way. We gratefully acknowledge a dictionary of some standing of the Nyassa by Rebman, and a grammar of that language by Riddell of the Free Church Mission. This is the language of Lake Nyassa, and if cultivated, and made the vehicle of instruction, will extinguish its weaker rivals.

There are nineteen languages already recorded in this sub-branch. The Portuguese occupation of the basin of the Zambési for more than two centuries has added nothing to linguistic knowledge, but small valuable treatises are now being compiled by the missionaries, and of some, such as the Yao, Makua, Manganga and Makonde, they have appeared, and vocabularies of others, and the habitat of these tribes is known.

The second sub-branch is the Zanzibâr; this extends from the island of Ibo, on the confines of the Mozambique territory, along the coast of the Indian Ocean, to the confines of the Galla and Wakuafi where the Bántu family meets the tribes of the Hamitic and Nuba-Fulah groups already described. It embraces all the low coast, and the range of mountains running parallel to the coast, from the confines of the Zambési sub-branch, to the country of the Masai of the Nuba-Fulah group. The dominant language throughout this sub-branch is the Swahéli, the speech of the coast, as its name indicates, deeply affected by Arabic, used by Mahometans, and expressed in the Arabic character, and influenced by Arabic culture, but unintelligible to the savages of the interior. These savage languages are being slowly developed by the labours of the missionaries. For the Swahéli all has been done that is required by Bishop Steere and Dr. Krapf, but of the other languages we have little more than brief vocabularies, or short notices, but it is a promise for the future to have got so much. It gives some idea of the rapidly expanding knowledge, to mention that Friederich Muller only gives three languages of the sub-branch, which, owing to the diligence and energy of explorers, is now so rapidly expanding. It is pleasant to read in the reports that such a one is busy at the languages, has grammars and vocabularies, or a translation of a gospel in hand, and this is going on all down the line; and the funds are entirely provided by religious societies, who thus indirectly contribute to the extending of science.

Several islands, such as the Archipelago of Comoro, are included in this sub-branch, but Madagascar, as belonging to a different linguistic system, is excluded. If any Africans are in that island as slaves or settlers, they must be treated as aliens. It is remarkable, that our great explorers have generally accomplished their tasks by the aid of Swahéli, and a class of interpreters seems always available who speak this lingua Franca. We predict for this language a remarkable position in the civilisation of Eastern Africa, but small grammatical notices are appearing of others of the twenty-seven recorded names of this sub-branch, such as the Shambala, Boondei, Zaramo, Guido, and Angaridza, in addition to vocabularies.

The third sub-branch, that of the Victoria and Tanganyika Lakes, has been formed at a date entirely subsequent to the latest information available to Friederich Muller, and is the result of Stanley's famous journey across the Dark Continent, and the two great religious missions planted by the Church Missionary Society and London Missionary Society in answer to his challenge. If in five years so much has been done, what will be the result at the end of a quarter of a century? In connexion with Victoria Nyanza many languages have been indicated, and their existence substantiated. In the language of the court of the King of Uganda, a portion of the Scriptures has been translated; of the Nyamwezi we have a grammatical notice by Bishop Steere. The northern boundary of this sub-branch is the line of contact of the Negro, Hamitic, and Nuba-Fulah groups already alluded to. On the east it is conterminous with the Zanzibár sub-branch, and to the south with that of the Zambési. To the far west an imaginary line must be drawn due south from Nyangwe on the Lualábá (which Stanley proved to be the Kongo), until it reaches the Zambesi. Beyond that point the languages recorded must be entered in the western branch of the Bántu family, until, in due time, we have collected enough material to establish a separate group or family, as the case may be, for Central Africa South of the equator and north of the Zambési, which, with the exception of the tract of Cameron, is now wholly unknown. In connection with Lake Tanganyika we have information from the south, owing to the exploration of the Geographical Society, and the visit of the Free Church Missionaries from Lake Nyassa. We have English missionaries established on one part of Lake Tanganyika, and French Roman Catholic missionaries at another. Nothing of a tangible linguistic character has reached us yet, but we are enabled to record the names and position of the tribes speaking distinct languages, or, possibly dialects of languages, and leave it to time to fill in the picture.

We can see no limit to the expansion of this sub-branch, which will comprise all the unknown tribes inhabiting the basin of the upper waters of the Kongo, and the mysterious lakes of Moero and Bangweolo. English commerce will soon develope itself upon the road traced out by English missionaries, and English and American explorers. The names which come practically before us, read like the names in some fairy tale: they will fall into the places allotted for them, and the great frame of East Africa in the southern tropic will gradually be filled up, and in a few years the explorers from the west will shake hands with the explorers from the east at Nyangwe. We have reason to believe that the same family of languages are spoken in the whole basin of the Kongo, but Northward of Nyangwe there is a terra incognita betwixt the West side of the Albert Nyanza and the basin of the mysterious river Welle. In the fullness of time the geographical and linguistic secrets of this region will be revealed, and we shall be able to trace the line where the Negro and Bantú races march together, and impinge on each other, and possibly affect each other's languages.

The western branch of the Bantu family comprises the western half of south tropical Africa from the Namaqua-land of the Hottentot group to the south, as far north as the Kamerún mountains. To the north an uncertain boundary of unexplored territory divides it from the Negro field, and it is remarkable that some tribes, ethnically Negro, speak Bantu languages. To the east there is the vast space of unexplored Central Africa; on both banks of the Kongo, savages, cannibals, and warlike. There are three sub-branches:—

I.—The Portuguese Colony of Angola and its dependencies and the country south, up to the confines of Namaqua-land.

II.—The basin of the Lower Kongo.

III.—The basin of the Ogoway-Gabun and the country north of the equator as far as the Kamerun mountains. The whole of this branch presents a hopeful field for enquiry, as there is a great deal of life along the whole coast, under the influence of English, French, German, Portuguese, Spanish and American visitors for different purposes.

In the first sub-branch we find the Herero language and the Shindonga of Ovampo, spoken by tribes nominally under English influence, south of the river Cunene. North of that river, within the Portuguese colony of Angola, the Bunda language is spoken. We have the advantage here of grammar and dictionaries by Cannecattim, Capuchin, published at Lisbon 1504 A. D. It apparently extends over a large tract, but later travellers have reported the existence of another language spoken at Bihé, and other names are given beyond the Portuguese frontier, and the German travellers, Pogge and Buchner, who penetrated to Kabebe, the capital of Muata Yanvo, have brought back other names, but very little certainty.

The sub-branch of the Kongo basin contains the germ of new discoveries, as missionaries and explorers are pushing up the river as far as Stanley pool. The Kongoese, or Fiote, is illustrated by a grammar by Brusciotus, published at Rome 1659 A.D. It may be in a few years that we shall have steamers from Stanley pool to Nyangwe, and a row of new languages revealed to us. We may reckon with certainty on receiving very shortly information of the dialects of the basin of the Kongo west of the pool, and translations of the Holy Scriptures.

From this sub-branch, so replete with undefined promise, yet at present with no fruit which is the result of modern culture, we pass northwards into the sub-branch of the Ogowah-Gabún basin, and find several well defined languages illustrated by works of great merit, revealing to us most completely the nature of the languages used by the Mpongwe, Dualla, Dikele, Isubu, Bimbia, Bakele, and the residents of the island of Fernando Po. We have good and sufficient grammars, translations of portions of the Holy Scriptures, and abundance of smaller works, the results of the labours of English and American missionaries over a long course of years.

We have recorded one hundred and forty-three names of languages of this family, probably one-third only of the vast number of which we know nothing but which will emerge into light. Some of these names will represent dialects only of a greater language: some will be mere synonyms of languages already recorded, for this pitfall is always open to the linguist. Travellers may bring home a vocabulary with a new name, but after careful sifting, it may be found to be an old friend with slight variations. We take leave of this magnificent family with the feeling that it is the only one which, in a linguistic sense, can compete with the great Aryan family.

VI. Driven down to the extreme south of the Continent of Africa, and only saved from extinction by the advent of the English and by the efforts of Christian missionaries, we find the sixth and last linguistic group, which, but for the smallness of the population, ought to form two groups, as the component parts have no relation whatever to each other. We allude to the group of the Hottentot bushmen. Their existence is, however, important, as throwing some light on the character of the earlier, if not aboriginal, inhabitants of the continent, as unquestionably we have to deal with tribes broken and reduced by the powerful inroad from the north of the great Bántu family.

Sub-group "Hottentot." However the word may be spelt, or from whatever cause assigned, it is not the real name of the tribe who call themselves "Koikoib" (men of men), and are called "Lawi," by their Kafir neighbours. They number 350,000, and are considered to have four dialects—Nama, the purest and standard, spoken in Namaqua-land to the north; Kora, on the Orange River; a third is spoken by the eastern division of the tribe; and a fourth, and a very impure variety, in the neighbourhood of Capetown. To these must be added the Griqua, or bastards, the issue of Dutch and Hottentot, speaking a mixed language. There are many excellent works by missionaries about and in this language, and it may be considered to be sufficiently well-known. In all probability its days are numbered. Friederich Muller records his opinion, that it is an isolated language, with no connexion with any other African or non-African form of speech; though morphologically agglutinative, the roots are monosyllabic; there are genders and numbers formed by suffixes; the pronoun is the vivifying element, and, joined to nouns and verbs, differentiates the meaning. The oral literature consists of songs and animal stories, which have been collected by sympathising scholars. The great feature of the language is the existence of four clicks, formed by a different position of the tongue. The dental click is almost identical with the sound of indignation, not unfrequently uttered by Europeans; the lateral click is the sound with which horses are stimulated to action; the guttural click is not unlike the popping of a champagne cork, and the palatal click is compared to the cracking of a whip.

A variety of opinions may be quoted as to the ethnological origin of the Hottentot. Hovelacque declares that he is but a cross-breed, and that, whatever may be said to the isolation of his language, he has no pretence to independence of race. Max

Muller quotes Dr. Moffat as an authority for a resemblance of the Hottentot language with that of some of the tribes of the Upper Nile. Such assertions must, at the present stage of the inquiry, be supported by actual proof at first hand or withdrawn, as if supported only by hearsay statements, they are of no value. We must deal with actual facts, and, in their absence, it is of no use hazarding theories of an archaic race extending in a continual line down the whole Continent of Africa. No doubt the Hottentot and Bushman are like the Basque in Europe, the survival of an ethnological and linguistic stratum which has disappeared elsewhere, and, in the absence of written records, left no trace behind. Bleek and Lepsius, whose names can only be mentioned with profound respect, connect the Hottentot with the Hamitic group.

The names of scholars whom we should add to connect with this portion of the subject are, Bleek, Hahn, Tindall, and Wallmann. To them we are indebted for grammatical notices, vocabularies, and a considerable amount of educational and religious literature. A missionary being invited by the Government to send books in the Kora dialect to be printed, remarked, that his experience was, that it was easier to teach the young to read Dutch, and that the old could not learn at all.

Sub-group "Bushman" comprises one isolated language, and is in a very low state of linguistic development. The name was assigned to them by the Dutch, because they dwelt in the bush; they call themselves Saab, or Saan, and are totally distinct from, and shunned by the Hottentot and Bântu. The language belongs to the monosyllabic order, as far as we can judge; there is no gender; the formation of the plural is exceedingly irregular, and of the sixty ways of forming it, reduplication of the noun is the most common as the most natural; but the use of the plural seems to be as abnormal as the formation. In some particulars there are analogies common to the Bushman and the Hottentot. Dr. Bleek made many years study of this subject, having members of the tribe in his household, and collected materials for grammar, dictionary, and folk-lore before his premature death. We can only hope that his successor Hahn, will complete the unfinished work.

It must be remembered that the Bushmen are a broken and despised race, in the lowest state of culture, neither pastoral nor agricultural, but living by hunting, and nomadic; they have no appearance of tribal unity, and no chief. Before the English rule they were treated as little better than wild beasts. The "click" sounds are believed to be their original property, and to have been communicated by them, in always decreasing proportion, to the Hottentot and Kafirland sub-branch of the Bántu family; for the Bushman, in addition to the four clicks already described as a feature of the Hottentot language, has a fifth, sixth, and sometimes a seventh and eighth, and not only before vowels and gutturals, but before labials. Such sounds are almost incapable of expression by Europeans, and it would almost appear that they are connecting links between articulate and inarticulate sounds.

The Bushmen are of exceedingly small stature, thus opening out the question of their belonging to the now well-established tribes of pigmies in North and Central Africa. In appearance they seem to belong to the lowest order of humanity; they inhabit outskirts and desert places, and are shy and wild. We read, however, of tame Bushmen: the Babomuntsu, on the outskirts of the Basuto country, and other tribes with mutually unintelligible languages, with evident traces of Bántu influence in their form of speech, both wild and tame, within the recognised territory of Bántu sub-branches. Only lately it was mentioned, that a Bushman, who resided beyond Damaraland, had come under notice, whose language was unintelligible to the Bushmen at Capetown. Friederich Muller states that they are found as far as the rivers Cunéne and Zambesi, and even beyond. If such is indeed the case, we are not in a position to arrive at any final opinion about them.

One remarkable feature still remains to be noticed. No trace of the invention of writing has been found South of the equator, but the Bushmen have acquired a wonderful power of painting scenes on rocks and in caves. Animals, human figures, dancing, hunting, fights, are pourtrayed with fidelity, and that the art has existed down to modern times, is evident from the appearance of Boers in some of the fights. It appears that the art of sculpture was also known, and that the outlines of some of the figures are excellent.

To the Hottentot Bushman group must be provisionally attached two interesting sub-groups, of whom we know little or nothing, except that they exist: I. The scattered broken races. II. The dwarfs, or pigmies. Every traveller mentions the existence of the first sub-group, a helot class in an extremely low state of culture, expert hunters, without habitations or vestments, living in jungle and forests using the bow and arrow, and, if not always linguistically, at least ethnically, distinct from the dominant and superior races. When Africa is well known, and the names and distinguishing features, and language of all these scattered races are brought together and submitted to intercomparison, then only will any classification be possible. Their colour is often yellow, and when compared with the colour of the black Negro, and brown Bantú, has even been called white. The second sub-group is a more marvellous instance of the perpetuation of ethnical phenomena, for Homer mentions the existence of dwarfs, and later ages have placed their existence beyond doubt in the persons of the Akka, the Doko, and the Obongo. Specimens of the Akka have been in the possession of Europeans, and one found its way to Europe, and the language has been recorded. It is yet too early to form any theory: we can only record facts, and wait till the unexplored tracts in the centre of Africa have been revealed. While, on the one hand, we may rest assured, that no monstrosities, or abnormal variations of the human form have been discovered, on the other hand, we must admit the existence of every variety of stature colour and proportions, and, as a convincing proof of the wide difference of man and beast, we find unlimited variations of sound, word and sentence to express the thought, the wishes, and the fears, fantastic and innumerable fashions of hair-dressing and personal adornments, and customs differing in details, but resembling each other in abominable and pitiless cruelty.

Over and above the names recorded by travellers or word-collectors, is a great multitude (which no man can as yet number) of peoples and tongues which it must be left to future generations to discover and record; and, till that event takes place, no one can presume to say that his account of the languages is complete. And there is this further complication, that writers constantly record the fact that such and such a language is dying out, and, as this process has been going on for centuries, leaving not the faintest impress on the sands of time, an idea may be formed how remote is the solution of the problem of the origin of human speech.

Moffat also, who is no mean authority, records his opinion, that new languages are in the course of formation. Lepsius also remarks on the ceaseless changes of the vocabulary, though the structure of the language or family remains the same. How the phonetic of a language changes from day to day, we have evidence all over the world.

The great propagandists of linguistic knowledge all over Asia, Africa, America and Australia, have been the great Protestant Missionary Societies, and foremost among them the British and Foreign Bible Society. The motive of the linguistic labours of this last Society is a higher one than the promotion of science, but it has, by its co-operation with the other Societies, brought together a *repertoire* of languages and dialects in the form of translations of the Scriptures, the like of which the world never saw, and which is the wonder of foreign nations; and this remark specially applies to Africa. No other motive is conceivable to induce men of scholarship and industry to run the risk of disease and death for the purpose of reducing to writing the form of speech of downright savages, except for the one purpose of religious instruction. In many languages the Scriptures are the only book, and a linguistic scholar would be devoid of all feelings of gratitude, if he did not heartily thank the missionary for opening out to him channels of information, hopelessly concealed, and the Bible Society for scattering it broadcast at far below the cost of mere printing.

To England falls the honor of being foremost in the re-discovery of Africa. No one can dispute that fact. The Portuguese dropped the skein. The English picked it up. The English have not the sweetness and light of the great French people, nor the solidity and depth of knowledge of the Germans, but they are practical, strong and self-willed. A camel to them is a beast of burden to carry bales of cotton, or of Bibles :—a tribe is an aggregation of men and women to be clothed with these cottons, and converted with these Bibles ; the languages are learnt, and books are composed in them for practical purposes, and neither romance nor science is thought of.

It is well that a German is always available for such work as composing grammars, translating Bibles, and managing self-supporting missions, for the Englishman has no time for such pursuits. Great is the debt of Africa to the long succession of great scholars who have examined the truthful, though incomplete works issued by the labourers in the field, and instituted comparison of language with language, group with group : thus gradually some order has been introduced, and future scholars will labour with some feeling of certainty, adding brick by brick to the great fabric, the plan of which has been sketched out by great linguistic architects. Though Africa has no works of art and science to shew as the result of the long silent centuries which have passed away since the time of Herodotus, the existence of the Negro group of isolated and totally distinct languages, side by side with the great Bântu family, with its scores of kindred languages, with different vocabularies, and phonetic variations, clothed upon the same backbone and skeleton of the Bântu organization, is a wonderful record of human intellect, acting spontaneously and unconsciously.

Here ends our task. Twenty years ago there was a rebellion against the tyranny of the Aryan and Semitic scholars who attempted to cut down all languages to the length and breadth of their method, forgetful of the infinite variety of the then dimly discerned families and groups of agglutinating languages in Asia. The great problem of the origin of language, however, cannot be solved, and is not ready for solution, until the secrets of the languages of Africa, Australia and America are revealed, and arranged in such order, that the lessons taught by the study of each of them may be considered with reference to the linguistic phenomena of the whole world, and this work will not be completed in the present generation.

The writer of these lines may not live to see any of these secrets revealed. Africa has become the solace and plaything of his old-age, as India and Asia were the joy and interest of his manhood. At the Fifth International Congress of Oriental Scholars, to be held in September of this year at Berlin, he will read a paper in the German language on "Our recent knowledge of the languages of Africa." In the same month he will exhibit at the Third International Geographical Congress of Geographers to be held at Venice, his new Ethnical and Linguistic Map of Africa, specially prepared for him by the celebrated cartographer, Ravenstein, as an embodiment of all existing knowledge. Attention will thus be drawn to the subject, and assist the writer of these lines in his self-imposed task of publishing, next year, a volume on the languages of Africa, exhibiting by the help of language, maps, and bibliographical catalogues, illustrated by a historical narrative, the extent of our knowledge, half-knowledge and ignorance on this great subject.

ROBERT CUST.

LONDON, *July* 1881.

ART. III.—MORAL CHOLERA.

THE white races, by whom alone the peculiar powers of man as a thinking animal have been developed, have never ceased, from the earliest record of their thoughts, to speculate upon the nature of evil and upon the best way of deliverance from its power. The accounts of the creation contained in *Genesis*, and the similar narratives preserved by the Assyrians, the speculations contained in the book of *Job*, and the oldest records of the Egyptians, all show this. In the 3rd chapter of *Job*, for example, we hear the cry of despair from the ruined patriarch ringing through the clear air of the desert, "For now I should have lain still and been at rest, with kings and counsellors of the earth, or with princes who had gold, who filled their houses with silver; there the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest; there the prisoners rest together, they hear not the voice of the oppressor; the small and the great are there, and the servant is free from his master; wherefore is light given to him that is in misery, and life unto the bitter soul, which long for death, but it cometh not, and dig for it more than for hid treasures, which rejoice exceedingly and are glad when they can find the grave?" The same cry comes to us from the palace of Jerusalem, where the wise king had accumulated the trophies of knowledge and of pleasure, all the sources of human enjoyment, whether physical or intellectual. "For in much wisdom is grief, and he that increaseth knowledge, increaseth sorrow. I said of laughter, it is mad; and of mirth, what doeth it? I looked on all the works that my hands had wrought, and on the labour that I had laboured to do; and behold! all was vanity and vexation of spirit, and no profit under the sun." Sophocles, in one of his most exquisite dramas gives us another monarch, saying that:—

> "Not to have been, exceeds all human thought;
> But, having been, to go as quickly back
> As may be to the place from whence we came
> Is far the next best thing"—

Instances might be multiplied: but yet all are but a set of sporadic instances, wherein the thoughts of those simple hearts that we call "the ancients," were in more or less complete harmony with the most complicated experience of us, moderns. Sorrow, as then, still loathes the day; the life that it has thoroughly tainted ceases to be of value. The great Arab Shekh, deprived of sons and daughters, and of all his pastoral wealth and pride of place, feels this exactly as it is felt by the mighty king who has made greatness commonplace, and having exhausted all the springs of excitement sinks under the paralysis of satiety. Œdipus in Colonus and Juvenal in Rome are alike in railing at Fortune, for they have trusted to her favour and found it fickle. Yet in all this there is no systematic pessimism. In all the scenes we have glanced at other voices arise; the young and active see the grandeur and the beauty of the life around them, and rejoice in their labours, as their God does in his. It was left to the wretched soil of this weary India to show the spectacle of a prince in the bloom of adolescence, surrounded by all that could stimulate the emotions of hope and joy, going forth to take his seat by night under the *pipal* tree at Gaya, and there evolve, as a universal cosmic plan, the conception of a general disease whose only cure was *Nirvána*, "to be blown out like a lamp."*

Thus understood, not as the cry of disappointment, but as the deliberate exposition of a philosophy for all mankind, Buddhism has hitherto prospered in Asia, but in Asia alone. Although not now accepted in name by the people of India, it long continued to colour both the teaching of the learned and the social system of the common masses. In many of the neighbouring countries it has spread widely, though popular needs have given it a less ascetic character in practice than it receives in books. Buddhism in some shape or other is the most numerously professed of all creeds. Theoretically its main outline is as follows:—

The universe is composed of two great constituents, matter and spirit. Out of these two factors arises the phenomenal Kosmos, wherein man frets his brief hour; though that Kosmos by no means expresses the true nature of what exists, if any thing exists, as to which the doctors are not agreed. Some maintain that behind it there is a first cause, of which both spirit and matter are emanations. Others, apparently the most characteristic, think that this cause is entirely incapable of demonstration, and too remote (if real) to be deserving of a place in the system. All are agreed, indeed, that we can have, on such a subject, neither positive knowledge, nor even practical conceptions. He who is truly wise, therefore, will confine all the powers of his mind to the study of immediate causes and of the nature and operations of the world around him, vaguely realising an ultimate Monism in which he and all things melt away. The faithful are taught further that what is vulgarly called "evil" is in fact the essence of the universe.†

---

* The Buddhist *Nirvána* is theoretically absorption; because the system was originally Pantheist, and necessarily in pantheism there can be no annihilation. But in practice Pantheism has become atheism, and, therefore, annihilation seems natural.

† Observe the total contrast here with the older pantheism of Europe, as taught by Spinoza. Indeed, Buddhism is not so much pantheism, practically, as atheism, pure and simple.

By a process of slow evolution the spirit of man has gradually emerged from the prison of lower forms. It will not, however, rest content with the amount of progress involved in this, its common condition of being: but will, if blessed, continue its upward path through forms ever higher and more pure. The citizen will become a monk, the monk a hermit, according to the rate at which a capital of spiritual merits has been accumulated. Then comes the dissolution of the physical frame; but even this is not extinction. In thirty-six trans-mundane spheres the work of development proceeds with the fortunately endowed individual; until, after various stages of angelic rapture and beatitude, he ultimately attains the supreme bliss of *Nirvána*.

The nations of Eastern Asia have grown old without passing through the stage of active manhood. They have not made the most of life, nor have they felt the stimulating influences that come from a stubborn, difficult set of physical conditions. That their languor and decrepitude should be attracted by such a system is not wonderful. The strange thing would be to find it obtain among the active, ambitious races of the West. Europeans have hitherto preferred a more material progress, one more clearly due to their own exertions. It is therefore remarkable that some important parts of this Buddhist's speculations are among the last conclusions of thinkers in France,* Germany and England.

The theory of the relativity of the phenomenal Kosmos and of the need for more or less neglecting the study of the metaphysical basis forms a main feature of all the modern schools of agnosticism, and has undoubted elements of interest for modern man. Though so long ago anticipated by thinkers whom we are accustomed to regard as barbarians, it seems an advance upon the ordinary forms of Deism, and upon the teleological and optimistic views of Leibnitz and of Paley. It even answers some of the difficulties of Stuart Mill. No longer regarding man as the central figure or the ultimate development to whose purposes creation is subordinate, it meets, or avoids the weariful task of accounting for the origin of evil. It does not concern itself with the endless labour of reconciling the omnipotence of God with the miseries of his highest progeny. It offers to the despondency of which all are, at some time or other, victims, an assurance of that remedy for which the unhappy or the satiated have always longed.

---

* It meets with no general favor in France, but has lately received some support from the acute and sympathetic Renan. Advanced thinkers in England have adopted its agnostic tendencies, though they have not generally adopted its views of the universality of evil.

Europe is the colonial system of Asia. Descended from the more active and adventurous of the old races, and from their sons, who struggled with the forces of Nature in their new homes, the settlers and the tribes they founded, long continued in a state of fermentation that prevented them from stagnating in the crust of custom, and the bondage of speculative systems. But it must not be forgotten that symptoms of stagnation and arrested progress have sometimes appeared in Europe. The cases of the Greek and Latin churches, and of the national decay of Spain, are sufficient to remind us, that the same causes which have wrecked Asia are ready to repeat the operation in Europe also. The pessimistic tendencies of Buddhism have never been without their Western echoes. Even the sanguine and practical Voltaire gave way to a feeling of this sort when he was roused by the terrible earthquake of Lisbon to publish *Candide.* In the beginning of our century Byron and Shelley gave occasional expression to the cry of despair that had already been raised in the early stages of Goethe's career, afterwards so calm and contented. And in Italy Leopardi (a man of equal genius and unhappiness) had made his own bitter experience of life the basis of a system of despair. According to this melancholy singer life is so bad, that even without suffering it is still, of itself, an evil: there is no condition so sad as not to be capable of becoming worse: fortune is always stronger than we, and she will end by breaking even the firmness of despair. When then will misery end? When every thing ends. The worst moments of all are those passed in pleasure. There never was, and never will be, an existence than which non-existence is not better; as is proved by the fact that no one would willingly go through his past life again. Listen to the following dialogue between a seller of Almanacs and a passer by:—

"A. Buy almanacs, new almanacs, new calendars!
P. Almanacs for next year?
A. Your honour, yes.
P. Will it be happy, think you, this new year?
A. Oh! yes, your honour, I am sure it will.
P. More than the past year?
A. Much sir, very much.
P. Or the preceding?
A. Very much, I hope.
P. Or that before it? Are there no past years
You'd have this next resemble?
A. No sir, none.
P. Pray, tell me now, how many years it is
You have been selling almanacs?
A. Twenty, sir.
P. And which of all the twenty would you choose,
That next year should be like?
A. I cannot say.

P. What! cannot you remember any year
Seemed to you happy?
A. No, I cannot, sir.
P. Yet, on the whole, 'tis a fine thing to live?
A. We all know that.
P. And would you not consent
To live again the twenty years, or even
The whole term that has passed since you were born?
A. Alas! Dear Sir, I wish to God I could?
P. But, doing this, you would have to undergo
Its joys, its sorrows, neither less nor more.
A. Oh! no, not that!
P. What life, then, would it be that you would choose?
Say mine, say the Grand Duke's? Do you not think
That the Grand Duke, or I, to the same question
Would make the same reply (and truly, too)?
'I would not re-commence my bye-gone life?'
A. I do.
P. You'd not begin again, then, either?
A. No sir, indeed, I'd not begin again.
P. What life then would you choose?
A. What God would give.
Without the least condition.
P. A chance lot
Of which you knew no more than of next year?
A. Exactly.
P. So should I, and so would all.
And yet there's no one living whom, so far,
Chance has not persecuted and deceived.
Each thinks the sum of evil has, for him,
Been more than that of good; none would be born
To live again the life that he has led,
With all its good things and its evil, too.
The life that is a fine thing is not that
Life which we know, but that which we do not;
Not the life past, but one that is to come—
Next year, however, chance is to begin
To treat us kindly, you and me, and all;
Next year the happy life is to begin:
Is it not so?
A. Let's hope it is.
P. Now, which of all your alamancs is the prettiest?
A. This one, your honour; have it for half-a-crown.
P. Here is the money.
A. Thank you kindly, sir!
Buy almanacs! new almanacs! new calendars!"

For the knoweldge of this amusing dialogue I was first indebted to a French translator, M. Caro. It does not occur in the ordinary issue of Leopardi's *Poesie*. The dialogue is, however, to be found in the Leipsic Edition of Leopardi's works, p. 274.*

---

* L. was evidently a diseased man throughout his entire life. The same may be said of A. de Musset, and what has been called the "anæmic school" of French poetry. Schopenhauer and Hartmann have not the same excuse.

But it was not under the sunny skies of Italy, with the monuments of a great past around them, and the dawn of a new national day breaking over their heads, that men were to give an ultimate welcome to the philosophy of despair. The spasmodic pains of disordered livers and baffled poetic ambitions were not sufficient to engender the new birth. It was reserved for Schopenhauer and his successor Von Hartmann to reproduce *Nirvána* as a systematic object of aspiration to modern Europe; and to offer to the *élite* of modern progress, the consolations that satisfy the dreamers of Ceylon, Burma, and Thibet. The idea has been taken up in Germany with mathematical rigour, and worked into a system that bids fair to take the place of those of Schelling and of Hegel, fallen into decay and disrepute. The world, it appears to these teachers, is the fruit of a union between an unconscious will and the idea on which that will operates. Though unconscious, this will (otherwise force) is insatiably tenacious and even cunning; in the pursuit of its malignant ends it leads us many a dance. Pleasure, profit, the love of woman (that creature with long hair and short views) all these are among the baits by which this truly satanic power tries to lure man away from his true destiny—annihilation. But a time of awakening arrives. Thrown into despair by the incurable badness of his environments, roused to rebellion by the inexorable irony of fate, man turns like the trodden worm. He perceives that in his own will he has been cherishing a perfidious accomplice of the enemy; and that his only chance of happiness is to mortify his desires, retire from the baffling struggle, and bear a part with all his strength in the final campaign. An Armageddon in which an annihilated universe is to achieve a sinister victory, and bury in its own ruins the traces of its unrelenting but baffled foe—such is the promised conclusion of this singular Apocalypse.

A strict and consistent disciple of this school would, one would suppose, reserve to himself the right of ending his own particular share of misery. But suicide is not allowed him, for it is a cowardly desertion from the ranks, a withdrawal of some of the force needed to work out the general programme of universal extinction. At least, however, he will never marry; and in the home of Nihilism things are carried to that extreme of logic; for there is a Russian sect* which contributes to the cause by subjecting its male members to a surgical operation by which they are delivered from all risk of being cajoled by the Unconscious into sharing its nefarious designs. Schopenhauer, too, lived to the ripe age of seventy-two, in a state of armed neutrality towards the sex of whom Goethe said that they were as much the better part of mankind as night was of the twenty-four hours. We are bound, however, to add that ~~Herr von Hartmann has~~ yielded to the wiles of the enemy in this respect, and has deprived himself of the blessed privilege of personally furthering the advent of that happy time when the fires of evil shall cease for lack of fuel.' The modern apostle of *Nirvâna* has, we are informed on the best authority, a wife and family, of whom he may be ashamed as a philosopher, but is proud as a man.

---

* The *Skopskys.*

Schopenhauer and Hartmann are too remarkable and too influential to be tossed aside with mere *badinage*. As the latter says, "Pessimism has been reviled and laughed at, but it has never been refuted." As a metaphysico-physical explanation of the world, it is worth as much as another. All attempts to go beyond the *flammantia mœnia mundi*, and define the unknowable, must remain unrefuted. That this particular explanation has its weak points may be seen by any one who examines it without prejudice, though a further examination of the same kind may bring out some strong points also. It is the application to daily practice of a theory which has no peculiar practical advantages that calls for protest. Pessimism is the part of Buddhism that seeks to concern itself with practice, but it has no merits that are not capable of being dissociated from the Buddhistic scheme and used, as we have seen them used, by teachers who have taken such different views of the universe as Epictetus and St. Paul. That we should mortify our corrupt affections and live for the whole rather than for ourselves, is as much a part of evangelical Christianity as it is of enlightened Stoicism. But to base such a principle of ethics on the assumption that extinction is beatitude seems a different matter. It is the system which commends itself to nations and to individuals who are approaching a state of senility without having passed through a virile period of healthy activity. It offers a solution acceptable to the sense of failure and of imbecility, a consolation, such as that state of feeling alone would appreciate. It has been called a philosophy of despair: it might with equal propriety be entitled the aspiration of decrepitude. It is not the attitude of the tired warrior who "wraps the drapery of his couch around him and lies down to pleasant dreams;" it is rather the querulous anxiety of a feeble old invalid who wants to have all the lights in the house extinguished, because the time approaches when she has to take her sleeping draught.*

Pessimism, then, may be true as an ultimate proposition, much as disease and death are true for those who have never known them by experience. That does not prevent it, however, from being a mortal malady, nor prevent its teachers from being quacks when they pretend to be prescribing a cure while only describing a disorder.

---

* Readers of Lecky will call to mind suicide under the Roman Emperors.
his remarks on the prevalence of

Among other errors, we may note the following: It is a manifest assumption on the part of Schopenhauer to suppose that phenomena are purely subjective, and do not spring out of any real existence. It is equally an assumption to lay down that will is unconscious, or identical with force. Force (in the physical sense) must have had an origin. It is just as fair to assume that this origin was will, and that this will is conscious and the source of conscious will in man. If any one chooses to make an assumption, in a region beyond the verifying faculty, one assumption is surely as good as another.

Further, it is an assumption, for which no satisfactory foundation can be shown, that enjoyment is not positive, but a mere suspension of sorrow, as cold is of heat.

In seeking to prove the unconscious nature of the will, Hartmann has undoubtedly improved upon his original. He has also made some interesting references to animal instincts, which seem to him to indicate how this force may act wholly independent of consciousness or cerebral action. But all depends upon the definition: if by "instinct" we understand only the inherited impulses as distinguished from "reason," which is moved by acquired experience, how do we know that instinct is not the slowly formed accumulation of the experience of ancestors conferred on organised beings by virtue of heredity?

Again, Hartmann attempts to account for the origin of consciousness by suggesting that it may be produced by the simple action of organised matter on unconscious will. But that action takes place in the case of idiots and infants without producing consciousness. Evidently, the explanation is insufficient.

In all this it is probable that the chief source of error is the neglect of a very patent truth: namely, that a physical accompaniment is not the final cause of the spiritual fact that it accompanies. Hartmann has to confess this (see his *Philosophy of the Unconscious*, p. 403), and it has been well brought out by Herbert Spencer and Fiske.

And this brings us to the subject of religion and morality: which, though perhaps not necessarily connected, are nevertheless traceable to the same source. The sense of duty to God and to one's neighbour, without which it is not clear how society is to be maintained, are both instincts traceable to inherited experience. Millions of our forefathers who have thought and suffered, have bequeathed to us the traces of their sufferings and their thoughts, woven into the very texture of our nervous systems. One instinct teaches us awe of the Unknown—not Unconscious—Will, of which we feel our own wills to be an emanation. The other prompts us to exert ourselves, not for annihilation, general or individual, but for fulness of integration and growth.

As Voltaire, after dabbling in his petulant way with pessimism, was forced to conclude, "*Il faut cultiver nôtre jardin*." The object of life is—life:—

> "'Tis life of which our veins are scant—
> Life—and not death, for which we pant,
> More life, and fuller, that we want."

In striving after this fulness of life, for ourselves as individuals as well as for the society of which we are members, we find the best answer to the doctrine of the Neo-Buddhists as applied to practice.

It is not the less worthy of enquiry, how such a system came to find favour in modern Europe, and what future is likely to await it. Pessimism, like the *Cholera Morbus*, is an Asiatic disease, and both took root in Europe at about the same time. The mental malady is as likely to be real and mischievous as the bodily epidemic, though both one and the other seem to require remedy rather than propagation. Pessimism is the organisation of a morbid indolence to which man is too prone by nature. In moments of abasement the bravest may be disposed to think that effort is such an evil, that to cease from one would be to cause cessation of the other. Those who hear this expressed recognise a passing derangement: probably the sufferer may do the same. But unhappily he may not, and may be carried away by the impulse before it has time to wear itself out: in which case he may call his malady "life," and perhaps find the remedy in his own hand. Still the common sense, so despised as "Philistinism," will recognise disease. *Securus judicat orbis*: men know who have been their benefactors: the world judges Cæsar a greater man than Cato, and from that judgment one sees no appeal.

It has been reserved for the Germany of the Post-Napoleonic epoch; tired of metaphysics that ended in no practical result; bewildered by the internecine strife of Positivism and Ultramontanism; gravid with the embryos of 1866 and 1870, for whose birth she had yet made no conscious preparation; despairing of liberal institutions, and losing her skill in literature and art; to mature this malady into an endemic, and mistake its diagnosis for a universal panacea.*

With the dawn of a happier day, the disappearance of the monster may be hoped for. It is of no use to argue that life is not a hard struggle, and repose not a thing to be thought of as an ultimate reward. So far back as the beginning of the century an officer in the old Swiss guard of France, escaping from the deluge of the Revolution and surveying the chaos that called out the despondency of Obermann, put the matter very well in the simple language of his time :—

---

* *Vide* final note.

By the deep grave's unechoing brink
We mortals shuddering stand ;
Where, with a sable cloud, it hides
The undiscovered land.
The music of the nightingale
We cannot hear above,
Only upon the mossy mound
Fall faded flowers of love.
There, brides bereaved are wringing
Their hands in idle round ;
There, orphans' wailings fail to pierce
The inexorable ground—
Ah ! yet 'tis here alone we find
The peace we love the best ;
Through this dark door alone we win
Our everlasting rest.
The helpless heart that, in the world,
So many tempests bore
Can only know its true repose
Here, when it beats no more.

So wrote Von Salis, lending a colour to the doctrine of *Nirvána* in his artless lay. But when we turn his pages we find that action was in his view the only allowable title to the boon :—

Friends ! why should womanly tears be so flowing
Over the cheek that life's hue made so brave ?
What can such mood be on manhood bestowing,
Would you, despondently, hasten the grave ?
Much that is nobler for task has been sent you,
Much that the blank of expectancy hath,
Duty accomplished alone will content you,
Rest overshadows the end of the path.

* * * *

Labour ! the wise man his labour pursuing,
Glory and deathlessness wait on his way ;
Traces of brightness remain from well-doing,
Gilding his short and ephemeral day—
Sowing joy's seed in the hearts that are round us,
Doing the best that man can do to man,
Fills up the rapture that Nature has found us,
Clears off the clouds our horizon that span.
Courage ! our griefs, once by courage confounded
Freshen the soul as the rain does the fields,
Graves, by the funeral cypress surrounded,
Soon get the hue the Forget-me-not yields.
Friends ! we must joy ; 'tis my ultimate sentence ;
Joy is the Father's supremest command,
Joy never gave to the righteous repentence,
Smiling through roses when death is at hand."

Schiller, too, has a similar thought:—

On the sunny heights of credence
Joy's bright banner loves to wave,
In the Seraph's choir precedence
Greets us through the open grave."

If these sane and serene spirits could thus connect joy and death in the land of *Werther* and in the days of Jena, what may not be hoped from Germans who have seen the triumph of their renewed Empire as it received the homage of Europe? Already we find, among the Pessimists themselves, some symptoms of a return to sanity. They admit that a misguided world has hitherto, on the whole, considered existence worth having, and effort a virtue rather than a mere curse. This, for the present, they are disposed to attribute to the artifices of "The Unconscious," who lures us on, by false pretences, and for purposes of its own, say they; but the robuster sense of prosperous men will regret the explanation, and see in it pure mythology. What! it will be asked, do you think that you can make out a conspiracy of all that is good and fair to defraud the best and last breed of Nature? Can she be so malicious a mother as to betray her offspring in exact proportion to the degree of moral and intellectual elevation that offspring may have reached? Can it be, merely because these new Buddhists say so, that the fountain of suns and of systems, the source of the moral mystery hidden in the microcosmic form of man, is nothing but an overgrown and universal hoax?

An attempt, honest if incomplete, should be made to describe this *mal du siècle* in its true colours, and to suggest its cure. Hartmann, its latest considerable supporter, should be shown to have got into his present position by reasoning with mathematical accuracy upon arbitrary, not to say crazy, premises. He has made considerable advance upon his master; being still young, he may go further; yet so far he is inclined to blame Schopenhauer, not for his Pessimism, but for the quietism which he thinks not a necessary consequence. His own present standpoint is that he has absorbed into Schopenhauer's pessimism the optimism of Leibnitz. The union so effected he would set forth in the following formula:—

"This is the best of all possible worlds but—no world at all would be better."

But see the absurdity of supposing that non-existence can be the goal and purpose of existence! It is like Carlyle who taught that silence was the ultimate object of speech (and who, if all is to be believed, often made it so). Did any sane thinker ever hold such a doctrine upon any other subject?

What the world wants is a philosophy, not of Pessimism, nor yet of Optimism, but one of making the best of what is: of subordination of self to the progress, not the annihilation, of the whole. In a world of relative phenomena we must take consciousness as a *datum* and renounce the study of what is beyond, which can never be more than speculation and idle guessing. As for *Nirvána*, it may be a dream for Asiatics, but never the goal of active effort among civilised mankind. And in the meanwhile we have, if we wish it, the daily bread sufficing for our support: only we must take the trouble to earn it, and to take it up. When Goethe had outlived Wertherism, and matured into his acknowledged grandeur, he once let fall this little song;—

"Wilt thou ever roam for treasure?
Look! for treasure still lies near;
Only learn to seize thy pleasure,
Thou wilt find thy pleasure near."

To those who find this too *terre à terre* for the office of philosophy we may safely reply, that since Bacon's time that office has, in many minds, assumed a very practical—if you please, a very humble—character. No longer soaring in "the infinite azure" of mysticism and metaphysics, it has deigned to visit the dwellings of the citizens, the senate-house, the forum and the school. To many of us moderns, if philosophy cannot suggest a basis of moral obligation, she need not talk at all. And even so she must speak distinctly, and must show good credentials. After the comparative failure of Schelling and Hegel, the German thinkers ran to the opposite extreme; and taking their stand upon Nature, found the law of duty to be "Content yourself with the world that you have." Not less cosmical, of course, was the scheme of the Pessimists, who, finding the natural state of things unworthy of approbation, pronounced the formula: "Annihilate the world that you have." The poets, as a rule sympathetic men, invite us to seek consolation for real sorrows in an ideal world of joy; "Substitute for the world that you have, an imaginary world which shall be the home of the mind."

But the problem is not to be so solved. The world can neither be borne with, annihilated, or escaped from: least of all the second. Thus, to reconcile the different precepts in a common measure of truth, we have still need of another formula. It has been thus stated by a French writer: "Labour to better the world that you have in conformity with its ascertained laws, by the ideal your best efforts can make, possibly the chief constituent of its own realisation" (Fouilleé. *Rev. des d. Mondes*, 1st March 1881). And here, no doubt, the spirit of poetry will find its work, and be a valuable ally. In what has been said above of the groundlessness of Pessimism as a basis of practical philosophy, the argument has been rather of an empiric than of a purely scientific kind: for the writer has no claim to figure as a scientific or metaphysical thinker. And the humble comments that he has permitted himself are not so much addressed to the system of Hartmann as to that of Schopenhauer, who strikes one as an evidently inferior man. It has been even admitted that, as an ultimate theory of the universe, Hartmann's system is as likely to be true as any other, in a sphere where nothing can be ever verified.

The philosopher to whom we owe it is a man of multifold experience and reading; and, excepting for a certain roughness of style, resulting probably from early barrack-training and habits, his exposition is clear and agreeable. His first great work the *Philosophy of the Unconscious*, appeared about 1869, and went through numerous editions. He does not there contend, like Leopardi and Schopenhauer, that there is no such thing as positive enjoyment: but he declares that it is only by a profound illusion that happiness can be regarded as an aim of aspiration or exertion. In subsequent publications (see especially a volume of miscellaneous essays, and one among them, "Is Pessimism Unconsoling?") he attempted to give a moral application to his modified theory. In the course of the "culture-fight," which began after Sadowa, and which still goes on in North Germany he took up its relation to religion; and it is here, above all, that the most strenuous attempt has been made to revive the Buddhism of Asia and apply it to the wants of modern civilised society.

With great acuteness and well digested information, H. v. Hartmann sketches the "religion of the future," something in the spirit of Feuerbach; he assumes that all religious schemes, corresponding to, and depending for success upon, some human want, must contain some doctrine or doctrines of, at least, relative truth. He therefore makes a sort of eclectic *synthesis* of what he considers the distinctive truth of each great religious system, and concludes that such a synthesis must suggest what the future religious and ethical system of thinking man will be. As result he conceives what he calls a "Panmonotheism," founded on a fusion of the religious development of India with that of the Jews and Christians which shall join the advantages of both tendencies, with an elimination of their errors.

He does not go much into details. But the following may be taken as the chief reasons for his conclusion. All religion arises, he thinks, in astonishment and fear; and pessimistic views are of its essence. Without pessimism there can be no real religion, but only cant, custom, and such like. Only two conceptions of God are possible to the awe-struck heart: either God must be thought of as external, what Spinoza calls "transcendant," or He must be thought of as having the world as a subjective manifestation, not outside himself, but emanating, which he describes as "immanent." The early Semitic races peopled the air with their divine representatives; and Jehovah, the tribal God of the Hebrews, having, by a selection of the fittest, established himself in the minds of the best men of the place and time, stood forth as the one "transcendant" Lord of Jews, Christians and Musalmans.

In the meanwhile the Asiatic Aryans, whose earliest needs turned their attention to the propitiation of the powers of Nature, developed among their better-thinkers, the idea of the "immanent" force recognised by pantheistic Hindus until atrophised by the Buddhist reform into something like atheism.

Passing by many objections which will occur to one or another, let us note the unverifiable nature of the two postulates on which all this is founded. Even as we have seen that, besides and between the extremes of Optimism and Pessimism, there lies a practical mean which partakes of both, and yet is neither, so it seems clear, there is a medium between the watch-making God of Paley, and the impalpable force of the Pantheists. But let even that pass; what of the assertion that Pessimism is of the essence of religion and that Optimism is necessarily pagan? Even if this were so, it does not seem right that the system adopted by the great men of Greece and Rome for some 600 years should not be as much represented in our synthesis as that of the Troglodytes of Behâr. But let even that pass: why is Optimism necessarily pagan? From the time when Job was answered out of the whirlwind down to our own times, there is this notable uninterrupted denial of such a position in the constant action of poetry. Was David a Pessimist? read the 104th Psalm:

"Bless the Lord, O my soul! O Lord my God, Thou art very great, Thou art clothed with honour and majesty.........O Lord how manifold are Thy works! in wisdom hast Thou made them all.......The glory of the Lord shall endure for ever: the Lord shall rejoice in his works." Was Wordsworth an infidel when he wrote the *Lines* of June 13th, 1798, near Tintern Abbey? Take for example:—

"I have felt
A presence that disturbs me with the joy
Of elevated thoughts: a sense sublime
Of something far more deeply interfused,
Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns—

And the round ocean, and the living air,
And the blue sky; and in the mind of man;
A motion and a spirit that impels
All thinking things, all objects of all thought;
And rolls through all things—
Therefore I am still,
A lover of the meadows and the woods
And mountains; of all the mighty world
Of eye and ear;—both what they half create
And what perceive; well pleased to recognise
In nature and the language of the sense
The anchor of my purest thoughts, the muse,
The guide, the guardian of my heart, the soul
Of all my moral being."

This may be Pantheism; it is clearly not Pessimism or Paganism The poets are generally full of a like spirit; and it is this very character and condition of the poetic method and office that make them so dear to the overwrought heart of man. Not the poetry of Pessimism and satiety, still less the mere music of sense and passion. Goethe has said (*Dicht-u-Wahr*, III., Bk. II) that "the essentially deep and fundamental agency, the truly permanent and improving, is that which remains over of the poet when we have him represented in prose." That is no doubt a profound truth, which by no means cancels the other truth asserted in the same passage, that "rhythm and rhyme are to be equally honoured, being the means by which poetry first becomes poetry." The master calls our minds to see that substance as well as form is needed, so that poetry may be ultimately profitable to its perfect work; and we may claim a more universal weight of testimony in support of this than any historical experience of the religious character of Pessimism. Poetry, "conforming," as Bacon said, "the shows of things to the desires of the mind," is the true consoler of the more sensitive and feeling of the race. Young people may be led away by form and workmanship, which are highly important, but not the actual blessing of the muse. Poetry is vain, at the last, unless she makes the heart in love with life. Not with its own poor life, which may be dull, defeated, dying: but with the life streaming from a divine source which is neither one with the world, nor external to the world, but of which, let me say of Whom, the world is, for us, the only manifestation and revelation.

Thus comforted we shall not learn despondency or quietism from the ruins of Asiatic society, or seek comfort in its narcotic dreams. Nor shall we seek in religion a guide to conduct, so much as a factor for character. A man without religion is better than a Buddhist, though he is to be pitied also, as much as one colour-blind or without an ear for music.

The other line, if Hartmann can get his countrymen to follow it, can be started only by desperate conditions, as it can only land a race who adopt it in ultimate apathy and decay. Neither will they be saved by taking with them some slender *viaticum* snatched from Christianity and Semitic monotheism. It will not be in the pretended synthesis of incompatible conjectures that the truth will be found; but in a cordial recognition of Nature as our mother, whose bosom is our resting place, as it is the fountain of our life.

Theology is a doubtful remedy for the ills of life; it has engendered monasticism, enforced celibacy, and the persecution of opinion. But Pessimism is only theology turned inside out, and its results promise to be almost the same.

It only remains to add that this strange moral malady shows no symptoms of reappearing in its native country; and the fact is of good omen to those who have undertaken the charge of modern Indian thought. The masses, in their dull and hopeless circumstances, do not seem to value life highly, but they are certainly not under the influence of any formal philosophy. The great body of the native *bourgeoisie* live on in contented conventionalism, pursuing the practical ends of existence, without time or capacity for thought; only in old age do they seem to turn to devotion, and then in the mechanical routine of almsgiving and sacrifice, of going on pilgrimage, and of dying on the bank of a sacred stream. Among the classes influenced by the universities, there are Vedantists, Theists, Agnostics, but of Pantheists or of Pessimists we do not hear.

It seems then that the conditions requisite to make this disease epidemic are peculiar to a country where the leaders of society are conscious of arrested social development or of social decay. It is not found systematised and diffused among savage tribes or among communities stirring with active aspiration and busied in remunerative work. It requires, amongst other factors, a sense of failure brooding over an apparently stagnant medium; and its general and permanent adoption indicates a moral atrophy arising out of a half-contented impotence, which need not have ended in despair if it had not begun by being over confident.

H. G. Keene.

N.B.—To the causes of German national despondency mentioned in the text, might perhaps have been added the military reforms of Stein and Hardenberg. Their recent results have been so startling, that the time may be hardly ripe for a sound estimate of their essential character. But it may be safely said that the substitution of universal soldiering for the system of professional armies can never be a step in the direction of social progress, but the reverse always. And it causes so many losses and sufferings that it is probably fair to count it among the causes of a morbid disposition towards pessimism. France has now imitated her rival; and, indeed, it seems hard to say where the movement is to stop. But it is retrogressive for all that. It has not yet had time to make the French unhappy; indeed, it may never do so. Not only is their national liveliness opposed to Pessimism, but the fact that the land in France is divided among five million families, naturally leaves a larger number of men disposable for military employ than a more complicated social economy can ever do. It may therefore do less harm to the moral health of the community, in the case of the agricultural nation, with its stationary population, than to that of a country where commerce and manufactures combine, with a constant flow of emigration, to keep up the remuneration of free labour at home and abroad.

H. G. K.

ART. IV.—HOW THE PORTUGUESE OBTAINED A FOOTING IN THE ISLAND OF DIU.

How the Portuguese obtained a footing in the Island of Diu; slew Bahádur Sháh the Sultán of Guzerat; took possession of the town; were besieged by the Guzeratis, and also by Suleymân Pasha with a Turkish fleet, which, after raising the siege, departed again to the Red Sea.

MOSLEM authors allude very briefly, and several of them also incorrectly, to the events now to be described in some detail, and especially to the circumstances connected with the death of Bahádur Shah; a tragic accident which ought to have engaged their attention more than it appears to have done. Abul Fadl in his Akbar-namah, gives a very short account of it; Ferishta who devotes scarcely a page to it, confesses at the end of his narrative that the "Tarykh-i Bahádur Sháhy" from which he had obtained his information, not having enjoyed the benefit of revision, contains many errors and cannot be trusted. The author of the "Mirat Eskandary" is of the same opinion, but gives a somewhat better, although also only a brief, narrative of the end of the Sultán Bahádur Sháh. The "Asia Portuguesa," written in Spanish, by Manuel de Faria i Sousa (quoted also by Briggs in his "History of the Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India," vol. IV. p. 135-138,) contains a more circumstantial account; but that which occurs in De Barros (Decada quarta, parte segunda, Liv. VII., Cap. IV. *et seq.*) although substantially the same with the preceding, embraces all the other events to be narrated in this paper as well, and will serve as our guide, although some allowance must be made for the bias of an author who was describing the prowess of his own countrymen.

Preliminary remarks.

The Portuguese had much trouble in obtaining a footing in the Island of Diu, situated very near the coast, in the Gulf of Cambay, and in 1531 even a fleet commanded by the celebrated Viceroy Nuno da Cunhá had been repulsed from it. Times, however, soon changed, and what could not be effected by force, overtures of amity accomplished. Bahádur Sháh, being much distressed by the attacks of the Moghuls under the Emperor Humayún, and having lost a portion of his dominions, bethought himself of invoking the aid of the Portuguese and allowing them to construct a factory on the Island of Diu in order to enlist their aid against the Moghuls, with the intention, however, of ejecting them after recovering his power.

In view of the amicable overtures just mentioned, Bahádur Sháh, sent a letter to Martim Affonso de Sousa, the commandant of Chaul, a Portuguese fort about thirty miles south-east of Bombay, inviting him to come forthwith to Diu in order to treat with him on a subject of great importance to the king of Portugal, and also despatched a similar invitation to the Viceroy, Nuno da Cunhá. To show his sincerity, Bahádur Sháh sent, with the envoy who bore these letters, Diogo de Mesquita, Lopo Fernandes Pinto, and Diogo Mendes, with some other Portuguese, all of whom had been his prisoners in Champanir. On the receipt of the letter, Martim Affonso sailed with three catures (small armed vessels) and sixty men, but was not a little surprised to meet, in the vicinity of Diu, Simão Ferreira, who had been sent by the Viceroy on the same business, and had not touched at Chaul. When both arrived in Diu, the Sultán was much pleased to see them, informed them of his affairs, and asked about the Viceroy. He required aid, he said, to defend himself against his enemies, and the most important would be the company of Martim Affonso, in whose valour he had perfect confidence, in return for which he would allow the Viceroy to build a fort in Diu; but as the latter was further off at Goa, he had called Martim Affonso to aid him, if the Moghuls should attack him, as well as to consent on his part to the construction of a fort, and to the drawing up of a treaty of peace. As Simão Ferreira had brought full powers from the Viceroy to conclude a treaty, the Sultán stated that the fort might face either the land or the sea, and be of any size, and on any spot that might be selected. The text of the treaty was as follows:—

Treaty between the King of Portugal and Bahádur Sháh.

"The King of Cambay agrees to give a site to the King of Portugal in the Island of Diu, that the Viceroy may build a fort wherever he likes on the side of the bulwarks of the sea, or of the land, of any size whatever. He also considers it proper to confirm the donation which he has made to him of Bassein, with its lands, and rents, as they have contracted.

"On condition that all the ships from Mekka, which were, in virtue of the previous treaty of peace, obliged to sail to Bassein, shall, as formerly, be allowed to sail to Diu without any impediment whatever. If, however, a ship desires to sail to Bassein of its own accord, it may do so, and ships of other parts may come and go where they like; all, however, must navigate with passports.

"That the horses from Ormuz, and from Arabia, which according to the preceding treaty, were obliged to go to Bassein, shall come to Diu and pay duties to the King of Portugal according to the custom of Goa, without the king purchasing them, and their owners shall be allowed to take them where they choose; but the horses taken from the Gulf to the interior of the country shall pay no duty whatever.

"Another condition is, that the King of Portugal shall levy in Diu no duties nor rents, except in the said fort and bulwarks; all the duties, rents, and jurisdiction of the inhabitants of the land pertaining to the Sultán Bahádur.

"Moreover, neither the King of Portugal, nor his Viceroy, shall, by his command, make war, or cause damage in the Straits of the Red Sea, nor in the localities of Arabia, nor shall any prizes be taken, and all shall navigate in security. Should, however, a fleet of Rumys, or Turks, be in the Straits, it may be attacked and destroyed.

"The King of Portugal and Sultán Bahádur shall be friends of each other's friends, and foes of each other's foes, and shall aid each other by sea and by land with all their forces, when invited to do so.

The last point was, that, if any person, owing money or property to the King of Portugal, should pass into the territories of the Sultán Bahádur, he was to cause him to be surrendered, and the Viceroy was to do the same, if any one indebted to the Sultán Bahádur should pass over to the Portuguese.

After drawing up this treaty, which had been signed by the Sultán, Martim Affonso sent it to the Viceroy by Diogo Mesquita, whom an ambassador of the Sultán also accompanied with a letter.

The Viceroy pays a visit to the Sultán at Diu, and is allowed to build a fort.

Nuno da Cunhá had also received an offer of alliance on the part of the Mogul Emperor, Humayún who made him large promises, but he considered it better to accept that of Sultán Bahádur, who was in possession of Diu; and sailed to that island, which he reached in October 1535. At the entrance of the harbour he was received by Nina Rao,* the commander of Diu, a relative of the Sultán, and by many nobles, who congratulated him on his arrival. After disembarking he was taken to the Sultán, whom he found reclining on a couch which had no ornaments, except golden legs, in an apartment without any other furniture whatever. The Sultán himself wore a simple dress of white cotton cloth, and had near him ten or twelve gentlemen, one of whom, apparently seventy years old, and a brother of the Emperor of Delhi, sat on the carpeted floor near the couch with another man of royal blood, whilst the rest stood, because in the presence of the Sultán of Guzerat only kings and sons of kings might sit. When the Viceroy entered with the forty nobles he had brought with him, he bowed to the Sultán, as soon as he perceived him, and the nobles likewise. This courtesy was acknowledged by the Sultán with a look expressive of pleasure. After a brief conversation on general topics, Nuno da Cunhá took leave of the king, and established his quarters on the sea-bulwark, which had been gaily decked and adorned with the flag of Portugal. In further interviews with the Sultán he requested the Viceroy to send one of his captains to take from the Moguls a fort on the river Indus, the name of which was Varivene; and for this purpose the Viceroy at once despatched Vasco Pires de Sampayo with twelve fustas (pinnaces), and some brigantines, manned by five hundred Portuguese. The Sultán also desired that the city of Broach might be defended against the Moguls, and Dom Gonzals Continho was sent there with another flotilla.

---

* This name ought probably to be spelt *Nana*, a well known contraction of *Narayan*.

As soon as Nuno da Cunhá had obtained the bulwark and the site on which the fort was to be built, he hastened to collect the materials necessary for the purpose, which detained him till beyond the middle of November. On the 20th of that month, which was a Sunday, he assisted, with all the captains, nobles, and the majority of the people, at the celebration of the mass, after which he turned the first sod for the digging of the foundations, which were carried on with such speed, that on the 21st December, the festival of St. Thomas, the Patron of India, Nuno da Cunhá laid the first stone of the fortress, under which he placed some gold coins, the nobles adding many more to please the Viceroy. Great festivities took place, with much noise of artillery, trumpets, kettle-drums and bag-pipes. The Sultán, to manifest his pleasure and to show that the work was going on with his consent, at once despatched fifteen thousand gold pardáos to Nuno da Cunhá, as a present for the labourers, many of whom he had himself sent. The nobles, too, worked like the rest of the people, and were all divided into squads or messes, the captains of which vied with each other who should provide the best food in his mess. In this manner the number of men was augmented and the work expedited. A bulwark of which Garcia de Sá was in charge—named afterwards the rampart of Sant-Iago—advanced more than any others, because he constructed the whole of it, and spent much money. The work was pushed on with so much zeal, that the fort was completed in the month of February 1536, and provided with artillery and a garrison of nine hundred Portuguese, over whom Nuno da Cunhá appointed Manuel de Sousa captain.

The Sultán regrets having allowed the fort to be built; Nuno has an interview with him and departs for Goa.

As the Sultán had probably supposed that the Portuguese would be contented with a factory, he must have been not a little surprised to find that in an incredibly short time they had raised a fort and garrisoned it. Not being able to remove it, he bethought himself of masking it, by erecting a wall between it and the town, with the intention of adding ramparts after the departure of Nuno da Cunhá, from which he might, in case of need, attack and take the fort. He accordingly sent Nina Rao, the captain of Diu, to the Viceroy, to inform him about the projected wall. Nuno da Cunhá held a council with his captains, which decided that Fernão Rodrigues de Castello-branco should be sent to the Sultán with a message, that, as the Portuguese were in possession of the fort and he of the town, there would be no necessity for a wall of partition. The Sultán replied that he meant to erect the wall in order to prevent scandals between his people and the Portuguese, without breaking the friendship existing between him and the King of Portugal. Thus, messages passed to and fro, till the Sultán at last informed the Viceroy, that he had not by the treaty of peace become a subject of the Portuguese, but had merely allowed them to build a fort, and they now meant to hinder him from erecting a wall on his own land. Thereupon Fernáo Rodrigues was ordered by the Viceroy to inform him that he laboured under a mistake if he imagined Nuno da Cunhá would consent to the building of the wall. The Sultán was so displeased with this curt reply that he would at once have wreaked his anger on the Viceroy, had he been able; but as his power had become very limited and the Moguls were marching on Cambay, he feigned indifference, and waited for an opportunity to take the fort.

Not many days after this little misunderstanding, Nina Rao again conveyed a friendly request of the Sultán to the Viceroy, to give him the Portuguese troops he had promised to march against the Moguls; but Nuno da Cunhá excused himself on the ground that it was now winter, and that he would see what could be done in the spring, whereas in reality he fearedt hat the troops might be treacherously destroyed. The Sultán complained that the Viceroy was unwilling to fulfil his promise, but hinted that he would have his remedy. Nina Rao also had hinted that the Sultán intended sailing to Mekka for the purpose of invoking the aid of the Turks; and, a council having been assembled by Nuno da Cunhá, the conclusion was arrived at that the intention of the Sultán might be really such, and that a personal interview with him ought to be arranged. Both parties sailed to the point of Diu, the Viceroy in a barge, accompanied by Martim Affonso de Sousa, Manoel de Sousa, D. Gonzalo Continho, Fernão Rodrigues de Castello-branco and João da Costa, secretary to the Viceroy, whilst the Sultán arrived in another with four or five of his courtiers.

When the two barges met, Nuno da Cunhá entered that of the Sultán, and both retired to the poop, leaving the nobles and courtiers beneath. There the Sultán reproached the Viceroy with not understanding the agreement as *he* did, and the Viceroy, being, or feigning to be sick, requested the Sultán to allow Fernão Rodrigues, who understood the matter well, to reply for him. This noble explained that his Majesty had not understood the agreement, and informed him that the fort which he had given permission to build, was but an imperfect structure, different from other—real—forts; moreover, that the gifts granted by sovereigns ought to be unconditional, liberal, and not such as would bring neither honor to those who bestowed, nor advantage to those who received them. The fort would be as profitable to his Majesty as to the Portuguese, who were there only to serve him and to die for him if need be. The troops for which his Majesty asked, if they were now to be given, would be of no use, because it was the winter season, in which no campaign might be undertaken, but in the spring, when the troops could be of use, as many as he might require would be given; this the Viceroy would do for his Majesty even if no agreement whatever had been made.

The above reason and several others appeared to satisfy the Sultán, and he returned to the town and was quite reconciled to Nuno da Cunhá, who, having made all necessary arrangements, went to the Sultán to take leave before he departed for Goa. He informed him with due compliments that he had left Manoel de Sousa with a garrison and ammunition, more for the purpose of serving his Majesty than to guard the fort; and that at any time he would be ready to aid the Sultán with the whole power of the Portuguese estate of India. The Viceroy also expressed his pleasure that his Majesty had again recovered a portion of his dominions, hoping that the favour he had conferred upon the King of Portugal by granting a site and permission to build the fort, would become a source of greater security to Diu and tranquillity to his possessions. After making these offers and remarks, with others suitable to the occasion, the Sultán and the Viceroy parted very great friends. Nina Rao, the uncle of the Sultán and captain of Diu, apprehending that the Sultán might some day compass his death, as he had done that of many others, requested the Viceroy, Nuno da Cunhá, with much secresy to give orders to Manoel de Sousa to admit him, with his family, into the fort, in case of necessity, because he dreaded the inconstancy of the Sultán. The Viceroy, delighted to enjoy the confidence of so high an officer, complied most willingly with his request, and recommended him to the care of Manoel de Sousa.

After having arranged all these matters, Nuno da Cunhá, on the 20th March 1536, sailed from Diu for Bassein, where he arrived with his whole flotilla; and, having inspected the palisades erected there, by the advice of Antonio Galvâo, he praised him much, and, to do him honor, ordered him to turn the first sod and lay the first stone of the fort, and, leaving Garcia de Sá to finish the work, departed for Goa, where he was received with much joy, since he had in one trip augmented the estate of India by the construction of two such important forts as Diu and Bassein.

Nuno da Cunhá again sails for Diu.

After some months had elapsed, reports were from time to time brought to Nuno da Cunhá that the Sultán of Guzerat, or of Cambay, as the Portuguese preferred to call him, was making earnest preparations to take the fort of Diu; and, whilst Nuno da Cunhá was preparing to sail there himself, in order to ascertain the true state of affairs, an embassy arrived in Goa from the Sultán, headed by Mir Muhammad, a man of great authority, to whom the Sultán confided his most secret intentions, and who was aware of the treason he meditated. With him came also Shákú, who had already been sent before with another embassy to the Viceroy. This embassy was received with much honor, and a Persian, Khájah Pirkuli by name, a man much honored by Nuno da Cunhá, and known as a loyal friend of the Portuguese, was appointed to keep it company. The substance of the business on which the embassy had come, was this—The Sultán desired to inform the Viceroy, that, as he had a long journey before him, and did not know when he might return, he was anxious to communicate certain matters to him concerning the security of his possessions, and therefore politely requested Nuno da Cunhá to pay him a visit as soon as possible.

Having received this information, Nuno da Cunhá instructed Khájah Pirkuli, and requested Shákú, whom he considered a friend, to ascertain from Mir Muhammad the true intentions of the Sultán, as he had attempted to buy up all the rice and provisions in and about Bassein, so that the Portuguese could obtain none, and appeared also to contemplate attacking the fort of Diu. These two gentlemen set about executing the commission by giving one day a banquet, with good wines, to the ambassador, Mir Muhammad, and, the three being alone at table, Pirkuli and Shákú began to speak ill of the Portuguese, saying that they had never acted with justice and had inflicted much injury upon the Muhammadans. Further, to ensnare the ambassador more, and to elicit from him what he knew, they blamed the remissness of the Sultán Bahádur Sháh, who, being so powerful and rich, had left them alone, whereas the whole affair might be finished in one hour by capturing the Viceroy, because, when he was taken, the whole fleet would surrender at once as well as the fort. The Viceroy, being taken prisoner, might be put in a cage, and sent to the Turks; and in this manner the fame of the Sultán of Guzerat would spread over the whole world. The ambassador, having partaken freely of wine, and being exhilarated by the sallies of his two companions, both Moslems, whom he now considered to be his most intimate friends, replied with much glee, that this was just what the Sultán had determined to do; he would, in short, invite the Viceroy with his captains to a country-house, surrounded by a strong wall, on the mainland, where he would make them prisoners, or, if this could not be done, he would have them killed in a house in the town. A Portuguese who understood the language had, however, been stationed in the room adjoining the banquet-hall, noted everything that had been spoken, and reported it to Nuno da Cunhá.

When the Viceroy became convinced of the Sultán's intentions, he determined to do his utmost to take him prisoner, either in the fort, or on his own ground, with the aid of some brave nobles carrying secret arms. He kept his plan to himself, but assembled a council of his captains and of some notables of Goa, to whom he explained the general reasons for which he would have to sail to Diu, and more particularly that he had been requested by the Sultán to do so. One of the chief reasons that hastened his departure was, that the Sultán was occupied in the fitting out of numerous rowing boats, and that a fleet of Turks might likewise arrive, and much money had been sent to Mekkah, as also appeared afterwards. Accordingly, Nuno da Cunhá replied to the ambassadors, that, in order to serve and to please the Sultán, he would set out as speedily as possible, in spite of his sickness and the climate of the town of Diu, which was unsheltered, and, being much exposed to winds, unfavorable to his health. The ambassadors wished to sail in his company, but Nuno da Cunhá sent them away with presents, because he had been informed in a letter from Manoel de Sousa, that they had instructions to take note of everything he might do during the voyage. After the ambassadors had departed, Nuno da Cunhá fitted out a fleet of forty sail, many of which were large ships, galleons and galleys, and sent word to Martim Affonso de Sousa that, before sailing to Malabar, he would pay a visit to Diu, which he did, departing from Goa on the 9th January 1537. When

Nuno da Cunhá reached Bassein, where he spent five days, and provided his fleet with various necessaries, he found there a captain of the Sultán's with seventeen fustas and other rowing boats, and to his question why he was there with so many boats, the captain replied that the Sultán had ordered him to obtain information about certain pirates of Onore, and some Moguls of Broach. Nuno da Cunhá surmised the true reasons of the captain's presence, but dissembled and offered him some things which might be useful in the service of the Sultán, provisioned the fort in conformity with the suspicions he entertained, left Ruy Vaz Pereira in charge of it, as commander, and sailed on the 6th of February, in the company of the captain of the Sultán of Guzerat with his fustas; but the latter soon separated on pretence of taking in water from the shore, and sailed towards Cambay.

Nuno da Cunhá, being aware that the Sultán was hunting on the mainland in the environs of Diu, sent Diogo de Mesquita, even before he left Bassein, to apprise him of his arrival; but the Sultán anticipated him by despatching to Bassein his private secretary Sant-Iago,* who, however, did not find Nuno da Cunhá there, but overtook him at sea, when he had nearly reached the island of Diu. When Sant-Iago made his appearance on board, the Viceroy feigned to be more sick than he really was, and received him in bed, as a ruse to delay an interview with the Sultán, while he waited for Antonio da Silveira to arrive in a galley which had lagged behind, and thus gain time. Sant-Iago being a Christian, having already had many dealings with Nuno da Cunhá, and enjoying great favour with the Sultán, was on all these accounts received with much politeness on board. After conversing on general subjects, Nuno da Cunhá began to draw out Sant-Iago's opinions on special ones, and succeeded in eliciting from him the hint that "the Sultán had as yet no claws, but as soon as he got them, he would scratch Nuno." These words confirmed the suspicions of the Viceroy, who already knew the character of the Sultán, and was aware of his inconstancy and vacillation in both what he said and what he did.

---

* This man was originally an Arab, and had become the slave of a Portuguese soldier belonging to the fleet when Nuno da Cunhá sailed to India. He found him well skilled in several languages, and employed him as interpreter on various occasions that required no secrecy. Afterwards he gave him to Simão Ferreira, who took him to Guzerat, or rather Cambay, to perform the same duties. By his sagacity, and the discretion of his conversation, Sant-Iago gained their favour. The Sultán Bahádur Sháh was so pleased with this man, that he induced Nuno da Cunhá to part with him, on a former occasion, in exchange for some Portuguese prisoners, so that he remained with the Sultán, being by some considered to be as good a Musalmán as he, whilst Sant-Iago himself sent word that he was retained by the Sultán against his own wish and yearned in his heart to be in Goa to participate in the sacred ceremonies of the church. At the same time Sant-Iago insinuated himself into the favour of the Sultán by many flatteries, telling him that the Portuguese could do nothing but rob by sea and by land; that the whole power of all Christendom could not be compared with that of the Sultán in extent of land or wealth, and that he could easily expel the Portuguese from India. Sant-Iago rose by degrees so high in the esteem of the Sultán, that he not only made him a present of 10,000 pardáos for an outfit as one of his captains, but gave him also a yearly allowance of 40,000 Pardáos on condition of his maintaining a batallion of 450 cavalry, and appointed him captain of the renegade Portuguese and Frenchmen who lived under the Sultán's jurisdiction. He was one of the most favoured captains of the Sultán, who bestowed upon him also the title of Faranghi-Khán.

After Sant-Iago had departed, Manoel de Sousa made his appearance on board, the same night, without any body on shore suspecting that he had left the fort. In the course of the conversation about the Sultán and his intentions, Manoel de Sousa informed Nuno da Cunhá, that he heard from Nina Rao, the captain of the town of Diu, that the Sultán meant to make a present of the Viceroy to the Turks, after capturing him; and Nuno replied, laughing:—"I hope to God, that just the contrary will take place, and that his evil intentions will be broken with his head." After settling a few affairs requiring immediate attention, Manoel de Sousa took leave, and the Viceroy determined to await the arrival of Antonio de Silveira.

The next day, the 14th February, Nuno da Cunhá sailed about at random, expecting Antonio de Silveira, who shortly made his appearance, and both arrived at 2 P.M. in front of the town. Anchor had not yet been cast, when a fusta of the Sultán arrived, with a present of venison which he had sent from the mainland. It consisted of more than twenty antelopes, accompanied by a message that the animals had been killed in the chase only the day before, and would probably be a welcome gift, because sailors were fond of fresh meat. The antelopes, were all laid out on the deck, but they were much torn by the claws of the panthers which had hunted them, and did not present a pleasing sight. On this occasion João Paiva, the favourite purser of Nuno da Cunhá's fleet, said:—"Please God, your lordship will see your enemies dead like this melancholy venison." These words, unwittingly uttered at the time, proved to be the prophecy of a tragedy, which took place not more than two hours later in the very fusta that had brought the antelopes.

After Nuno da Cunhá had sent back the messenger of the Sultán with his best thanks and compliments, Manoel de Sousa arrived in a catur, saying that the Sultàn had come from the mainland and was much pleased that the Viceroy had arrived. Nuno da Cunhá charged him to inform the Sultán that he would very soon pay him a visit, but that on account of his sickness he had not yet put foot on shore. Manoel de Sousa had not yet departed when Khájah Safar and a son of one of the chief captains of the Sultán Bahádur Sháh came on board. To them, he, too, feigned sickness, but thanked them for their visit and charged them to deliver the same message to the Sultán as he had already given to Manoel de Sousa. It happened, however, in spite of all this, that the intention of Nuno da Cunhá to pay a visit to the Sultán was frustrated by the latter himself, who, crossing the narrow channel from the mainland to the town, met the fusta which had brought the venison, as well as Manoel de Sousa and the two visitors, and, being informed by them of the Viceroy's sickness and of his request to be on that account excused for not having disembarked and paid his respects to the Sultán, replied:—"As friends are sick when people do not go to see them, I shall pay a visit to the Governor." Accordingly he stepped into the fusta with eight or nine of his captains and only two pages, one of whom carried his short broad sword and the other his bow and arrows. Manoel de Sousa, seeing this, also stepped into the fusta with the Sultán, and sent a page in the catur to make haste and inform the Viceroy that the Sultán was coming to pay him a visit. The Sultán followed, however, so quickly, that he arrived almost immediately after the message, and there was scarcely time to spread carpets over the places through which he had to pass, and for Nuno da Cunhá to put on a robe and lie down on a bed with a velvet-like crimson coverlet. As soon as the Sultán stepped on board, the noise of the trumpets, kettle-drums and bagpipes became so great, that nothing else could be heard. Diogo do Couto states that the Viceroy received the Sultán stretched on a couch, but secretly armed and with a sword near at hand. João de Barros, however, asserts that he came out to meet the Sultán when he stepped on board the galley, and that the Sultán, seeing him enfeebled and much changed by his malady, said:—"If I had known that your sickness had made you so weak, I would have sent you word not to rise from your bed; but as you have already done so, let us go and sit down in your room," and, taking the arm of Nuno da Cunhá, assisted him into his cabin, no others entering besides the captains of the Sultán, two pages of Nuno da Cunhá and João de Paiva, who locked the door. The Sultán took his seat on a chair placed for him, Nuno da Cunhà on some silken pillows, and the captains on the carpets. The Sultán began the conversation with inquiries about the Viceroy's intentions, about the voyage, about what he had brought, and other general subjects, in which a good deal of time elapsed.

Manoel de Sousa, aware of the evil intentions of the Sultán, and also of the determination of Nuno da Cunhá to obtain possession of his person, became uneasy at the length of this interview, and, suspecting that something untoward might have happened, bethought himself of ascertaining whether such was really the case, by sending Jorge Barbosa, a page of Nuno da Cunhá, with a request for orders how to act in this emergency. This youth presented himself at the low window, close to which the Viceroy was sitting, but, whilst the latter inclined his ear to listen to the message, the Sultán, who suspected danger, felt, perhaps mechanically, for his poniard with his hand, and Sant-Iago, who acted as interpreter, guessing his intention, said to Nuno da Cunhá:—"Sir, do not listen to any messages, but pay attention to the Sultán, who is speaking to you." Nuno da Cunhá motioned the boy away with his hand, turned to the Sultán, and at once understood from the Sultán's countenance and posture what was passing in his mind. Thereupon the Sultán rose and approached the door, near which the captains and nobles with some of whom he was acquainted, were standing, and entered into conversation with them; Nuno da Cunhá also got up, called for João de Paiva and, leaning on his shoulder, said to him:—"Tell Manoel de Sousa at once to follow the Sultán, and endeavour to take him to the fort in order to show him how he has prepared it for his service; I will send all the captains to accompany the Sultán with their caturs and vessels to the fort, and he is not to be allowed to depart till I arrive." With these words, the Viceroy let go the shoulder of João de Paiva and followed the Sultán till he left the ship, after mutual compliments.

Whilst the Sultán was stepping on board his vessel, Manoel de Sousa embarked in his own catur, according to the orders João de Paiva had brought him, and, when he shook hands with the Sultan, the Sultan, finding them cold, said:—"How is this, sir, affairs are so hot, and your hands so cold?" Manoel de Sousa replied:—"These are the hands of a man who has been living eight days on low diet, and I hope to God, that they will yet appear to you to be very warm." Within the short time of an hour, however, they became altogether cold in death; so little are men aware of what is to befall them. After the Sultán had taken his departure, Nuno da Cunhá turned, and, seeing his nobles and captains around him, said:—"Gentlemen, what are you about that you do not accompany the Sultán as I commanded? Embark, and follow Manoel de Sousa;" and they obeyed in great haste.

When the nobles, who were in the ships, had observed that e Sultán had paid a visit to the galley of the Viceroy, many them, too, presented themselves, and, the impression eing generally current that the Sultán intended to take the rt of Diu, and to do all the ill he could to the Portuguese, they considered that it would be best to capture him and kill him, and that there could be no better opportunity to execute this design than when the Viceroy had him in his power on the galley. Manoel de Sousa, too, was of that opinion when he sent the page Jorge Barbosa to Nuno da Cunhá for orders. When the Sultán departed, the nobles kept their eyes upon him, and gave Nuno da Cunhá to understand that they would be ready to carry out his orders. It appeared to him, however, that the proper opportunity for executing his project had not yet arrived. Probably he thought that it would be neither honorable nor chivalrous on his part to abuse the confidence of the Sultán, who had come to visit him as a friend on board the galley, accompanied by nine persons only. He may also have considered that it would not be proper to compass the murder of a king, without assembling his council and obtaining its assent; but there had been no time for such a decision, because the Sultán had paid his visit quite unexpectedly, and the Viceroy had as yet communicated his intention to no one, except Manoel de Sousa, to whom, however, he had given no instructions about the manner in which the Sultán was to be captured. As the Sultán possessed an army in the town, said to consist of 50,000 men, and a numerous fleet, it would have been dangerous to attack him openly by land or by sea, and the abovementioned orders, to endeavour to get him into the fort, appear to have been given by Nuno da Cunhá with the intention of executing his design there. It was, indeed, executed, but in an entirely different manner, as will immediately appear.

Death of Bahádur Sháh the Sultán of Guzerat, with his courtiers, and Manoel de Sousa the Captain of Diu.

The galley of Nuno da Cunhá, which the Sultán had left, was one league distant from the town; and, as the fusta of the Sultán was rowed better than the catur of Manoel de Sousa, the latter fell back, but signalled from a distance as if he had a message to deliver. The Sultán, who understood what was meant, ordered his crew to stop rowing, that he might hear, whereon Manoel de Sousa shouted to Sant-Iago, who was the interpreter:—"Tell the Sultán to please to step over into my catur, which is not soiled with blood,* and whilst we are on the way, I will show him how I have prepared the fort for his service, as the Viceroy ordered me." These words displeased Sant-Iago, who replied:—"It is not worth while to tell this to the Sultán." The latter, however, seeing h[illegible] interpreter more displeased than the words seemed to warran[illegible] insisted on their plain meaning being given, and then asked:— "Why should I not go to the fort?" "Why not, indeed?" continued Saint-Iago, "because it appears they want to make your majesty a prisoner." "A prisoner?" replied the Sultán, "just tell the captain to come into the fusta." As the catur of Manoel de Sousa touched the fusta of the Sultán, and he endeavoured to leap into it, his foot slipped, and he fell into the sea. One of his pages, however, leapt after him into the water, and caught him, and he was, with the aid of Doigo de Mesquita, lifted into the fusta of the Sultán, and, wet as he was, placed before him. That very moment a fusta, containing Lopo de Sousa Continho, Pedr'Alvares de Almeida, the Ouvidor general, and Antonio Correa, who had seen Manoel de Sousa fall into the water and wished to save him, arrived. They reached the catur of Manoel de Sousa, and using it as a bridge, passed across it, and rushed with great haste into the fusta of the Sultán. The latter, seeing them coming in such haste, ordered the courtiers nearest to him to kill Manoel de Sousa. Diogo de Mesquita, who understood his command, having learned something of the language whilst a captive of the same Sultán Bahádur, and who saw Shaháb-ud-din Aga, the son-in-law of Khájah Safar,* stabbing Manoel de Sousa with the dagger with which he killed him, now assaulted the Sultán, and wounded him. The Sultán shouted:—"Let us kill him! let us kill him!" These words became, as it were, the signal for a general hand-to-hand fight between the Sultán's courtiers and the Portuguese nobles, the first victim in which was the Auditor-General, Pedr' Alvares de Almeida, who defended himself valiantly as long as his life lasted, and whose corpse was thrown into the sea, like that of Manoel de Sousa. The other three, namely, Lopo de Sousa Continho, Diogo de Mesquita, and Antonio Correa, defended themselves only with their swords, and were in the greatest peril. That they were not wanting in courage, is evident from their having killed six of the Musalmáns, who were numerous before being thrown overboard, badly wounded. They were, picked up and saved by the Portuguese who arrived in their fustas and caturs.

---

* This, being the same fusta in to the Viceroy had been brought which the present of the antelopes may have been soiled by their blood.

The Sultán, frightened to death and amazed, could do nothing, but look at the fray; the page who bore his arrows and bow, an Abyssinian (Alexij) youth, eighteen years of age, seeing his master so perplexed, never lost his courage, but shot his arrows with such quickness and precision, that he seemed to discharge them by pairs, killed in a trice Antonio Cardoso, Affonso Fialho, as well as the page of Manoel de Sousa, and wounded João Jusarte Tizão with Martim de Castro, and ten or twelve others. He would have killed them all, if a musket-ball had not struck him, which so frightened the rowers of the caturs in which the nobles were arriving, that they did not venture to approach the fusta of the Sultán, who could do nothing but order his people to row to the town.

---

* This was an Italian renegade from Otranto, according to Manuel de Faria-i-Sousa (T. II, p. 11., cap. I, p. 166) who spells his name *Cojézofer* which may be *Khájah Ja'far* جعفر خواجه but we retain the *Safar* of De Barros.

While this strife was going on, three boats, full of armed men, whom the Sultán had kept at Mangalore, happened to arrive. When they saw the Portuguese fighting on their fusta, which they recognized, and heard the shouts of the people of the town, who were looking at the spectacle from the walls and high places, they hastened to attack the Portuguese, but, having approached them too closely, had no opportunity of discharging their arrows or taking aim with their guns, and were forthwith boarded by them and engaged in a hand-to-hand fight, in which many of the Musalmans were thrown overboard, so that they again retreated from the fusta of the Sultán, which, being disengaged, was now, by his command, directed towards the town, where he hoped to escape.

But another impediment presented itself, in the shape of a catur arriving from the Portuguese fort in great haste, and commanded by Captain Bastião Nunes, surnamed Pantafasul. This captain had a berzo (small cannon) on board, and fired into the fusta of the Sultán, killing three oarsmen; the fusta, too, being pierced, could make no progress, and the ebbing tide caused it to drift towards the Portuguese vessel. In this emergency the Sultán thought it best to save his life by swimming, and jumped overboard, followed by all his courtiers, but very soon, getting tired he shouted for help, pronouncing his own name, "Bahádur, Bahádur." A cavalier of Santarem, Tristão de Paiva by name, recognized him, and, approaching in his fusta, reached out an oar, which the Sultán eagerly grasped, but another Portuguese of the same fusta struck him with a pike, whereon also others did the same till he was killed. His body floated on the water for some time, till at last it sank. It could not be recovered, as neither could that of Manoel de Sousa, in spite of the diligent search ordered all along those shores by Nuno da Cunhá, who desired to inter both of them according to their rank, and for the commemoration of the event.

João de Sant-Iago reached by swimming a Portuguese rampart on the bar at the entrance of the harbour, and shouted in order to be recognized and saved, but was killed. Khájah Safar, who was likewise swimming, reached a fusta, in which were Francisco de Barros de Paiva, Antonio Mendes de Vasconcelles, and Antonio de Soto-maior, the last mentioned of whom recognized him, stretched out his hands and pulled him out of the water. He recovered from his wounds, and proved afterwards very useful to the Portuguese, as he possessed much information concerning the affairs of Guzerat. In this fray several Portuguese nobles also lost their lives, as we have already mentioned; among these was a youthful cavalier, Alvaro Mendes by name, who had, with two companions, entered a fusta of the Musalmáns, most of whom were slain whilst others jumped overboard, but he, being struck by an arrow in the stomach, perished, and in all the boats there were many wounded Portuguese. Of the Músalmáns, as became afterwards known, more than one hundred and forty perished; some of their corpses were washed ashore by the tide, though none of them happened to be persons of note. Of the captains of the Sultán who died, and all of whom were high personages, the principal were Eskander Khán, a native of Mandu, Langar Khán, the son of Maluk Khán, Shaháb-ud-din Aga, son-in-law of Khájah Safar, surnamed on account of his bravery, "the tiger of the world," Minasem, the great chamberlain of the Sultán, the Hindu, Gopal Rao, father of Nina Rao, the captain of Diu, and uncle of the Sultán, with several other men of high estate and income.

Such was the tragic end of Bahádur Sháh, the Sultán of Guzerat, which took place on the 14th February 1537 (3rd Ramadán 943). He was inured to the hardships of war and possessed good commanders for his troops. Had he followed the advice of wise counsellors, he might have become more powerful; but he was partial to that of men who had more vices than virtues, more boasting than courage, and who flattered him most; such as Rúmy Khán, Faranghi Khán (alias Sant-Iago), and others of that kidney. Bahádur Sháh was of middle stature, but, his limbs being broad and fat, he appeared shorter than he was; his complexion, which he inherited from his mother, a Hindu woman of the Rajput caste, was somewhat dark. His face was broad, his eyes large and prominent, but his physiognomy not unpleasant. He could jump, and run swiftly, was vain of his agility, ran about on battlements and on the tops of walls, inviting others to do the same, and if they refused, called them cowards. He spoke three or four languages very well. He was so liberal that he knew not how to give little, and upon his captains, among whom were some foreigners, he bestowed large estates, whilst he raised others from very low positions to high dignities. He was so conceited that he felt pleased when people spoke of him in his presence as if he had been Alexander the Great, but never lost his spirits in reverses of fortune. Thus, in his first interview with Nuno da Cunhá, the latter thought proper to make some consoling remarks about his defeat by the Moguls, but he replied, that war was after all nothing more than gambling, in which a man without capital might by good luck sometimes become the master of a large fortune, lose everything he possessed, or again recover it; remarking, at the same time, that the greatest loss inflicted upon him was that of his favourite musician, which could not be made good by his whole kingdom. Afterwards it appeared that the said musician was alive, and the Sultán invited Nuno da Cunhá to rejoice with him. His want of foresight, of experience, and his fool-hardiness alone could have induced him to pay a visit to Manoel de Sousa at night in the fort of Diu, and to venture with only nine courtiers on board the galleon of Nuno da Cunhá, in consequence of which rashness he lost his life.

Nuno da Cunhá takes possession of the town; issues proclamations to exculpate himself for the death of the Sultán, and makes a treaty with his successor.

We have already mentioned above that the people of the town were from their housetops spectators of the contest on the water, but, when they learnt its issue and were apprized of the death of the Sultán, terror overpowered them to such a degree, that they thought of nothing except how to save their lives, and a general stampede took place with the intention of gaining the mainland. But as the captain of the town instantly took many vessels for the mother of the Sultán and for himself, and the principal inhabitants of the town did the same for themselves, the bulk of the people had no other resource than to flee to certain fords of the island, where the water was very shallow at low tide, and pass over to the mainland. As the inhabitants believed that as soon as Nuno da Cunhá entered the town, he would not spare their lives and would pillage everything, they were in such fright and haste, that they took away only what property they could on their backs and in their hands; but the armed rabble, miscalled the army of the Sultán, were terrified most and fled furthest even after they had escaped from the island; while the prisoners in the jails, all of whom had been released, did the same. When Nuno da Cunhá was informed of this universal scare, he sent Khájah Safar to the town and the shipping with a proclamation, that he would allow fifty vessels to depart without let or hindrance, but that they must first obtain passports from him, on pain of being captured and losing their property.

The next day the Viceroy sent other proclamations to the town by Khājah Safar to inform the inhabitants, that he granted security of life and property to all who would remain in their houses, and that any merchants who might have gone to the mainland, might safely return and take care of their possessions; protection to all being guaranteed in the service of his king and master D. João, except to armed men, who, if discovered within the limits of the town, would forfeit their lives. Proclamation was also made that no Portuguese, of whatever quality or condition, or person in the service of the King of Portugal, should enter the town, or injure any inhabitant, or make him captive, on pain of death. These proclamations so assuaged the fears of the people, that the majority of them returned in three or four days to their houses. In the hurry of their flight they had dropped many things in the streets, but their homes had been pillaged by their own countrymen. A Portuguese bombardier, Framengo by name, was the only European who infringed the law, by forcibly depriving a Guzerati of a gold ornament and he was hanged for it, and the article returned to its owner. This act of prompt justice pleased both the Hindus and the Musulmáns so much, combined with the moderation of not pillaging the town, that they believed Nuno da Cunhá to be a just man who could not have encompassed the death of the Sultán from covetousness, and that the latter must have lost his life through his own fault.

Nuno da Cunhá came on shore with three caturs, leaving all the armed men in the ships, to avoid frightening the natives, and took up his quarters in the fort, which was garrisoned by twelve hundred men. After hearing mass, the Viceroy assembled all the captains and chief officers of the fleet, whom he harangued, and to whom he explained that the town of Diu had, by the death of the Sultán, fallen into his power, an event the achievement of which the king had so much desired. After his speech, which appears, from the ridiculous and bombastic comparisons instituted between the Indian expedition of Alexander the Great and the Portuguese exploits, to be at least partly apocryphal, Nuno da Cunhá conversed familiarly with the captains on various subjects, among them the government of the town, as well as the immediate arrangements which it would be necessary to make. It appears to have been the custom of Nuno da Cunhá always to consult his captains, and it was also his fortune that most of them agreed to whatever he proposed. In the present instance Antonio da Silveria de Menezes was elected captain of the town of Diu, not so much because he was his own brother-in law, but by common consent, on account of his fitness for the position. The names of the civil and military officers appointed on this occasion are all faithfully recorded by De Barros, but do not enlist our interest, and may therefore be omitted.

After having made the appointments abovementioned, Nuno da Cunhá considered it proper to offer his excuses to the mother of the Sultán, who was at Novanagar, with Nina Rao, the captain of Diu, for the death of her son. He averred that the event itself was a mere accident, which happened on account of the death of Manoel de Sousa, and was far from having been planned by the Viceroy himself; for, had he entertained the intention of killing the Sultán, he might easily have done so when he was alone with him in the cabin of his galley. He also requested the lady to remain where she was, as no harm would befal the kingdom; but if she wished to take up her abode in the town, he would entertain the same loyalty and respect for her as for a princess allied to his king and master D. João, the King of Portugal. All these fine words were, however, lost upon the Sultán's mother, who, being deeply grieved, obstinately refused to accept the message.

Padlocks and seals had been put upon all the houses of the Sultán and of his mother, in addition to those which were already upon them, and an inventory of all the property contained in them was drawn up by Antonio da Silveira, Fernão de Sousa de Tavora, the secretary, João da Costa, and Estevão Toscano, Factor of the fleet, with his clerks, and the whole property entrusted to the keeping of the Factor, Antonio da Veiga. All the gold, silver, and coined money found in the houses of the Sultán and of his mother is said to have amounted to twelve thousand pardãos, besides some jewelry, brocade and silk cloth. Those, who knew of the great treasures of gold, silver, precious stones, plate, golden caparisons for horses, gems, &c., kept by the Sultán's father in Champánir, besides the booty acquired by Bahádur Sháh himself in his campaigns against Mandu, Chitore and other places, were astonished at the smallness of the property found. It is asserted, however, that the officers who made the inventory stole much, and the character of Nuno da Cunhá himself was calumniated, but the scantiness of the property he left to his heirs, is a sufficient proof of his poverty. It is also to be taken into consideration that the Sultán had spent large sums of money in his contests, which were numerous; but the Portuguese, although disappointed in the treasure they had found, were amazed at the quantity of war-like stores they obtained in the arsenal, and thought they could not spend them in twenty years. These consisted of gunpowder and of materials for manufacturing it, of fire-works, of muskets, of countless bows and arrows, and of all kinds of ammunition, many saddles for horses, and rich shabracks for them, arms of all sorts, as well as provisions of every kind. The fleet, consisting of one hundred and sixty sail, numbered many beautiful galleys, galleons, transports and fustas, all of which were extremely well fitted out. The artillery of the fleet, as well as of the arsenal, consisted of a great number of very large cannons of brass, and many more of iron, and among them were also three basilisks* of large size, one of which Nuno da Cunhá sent to the King of Portugal as a curiosity.

It must have been a great hardship to the inhabitants that they were not only prohibited from leaving the town, but that the Portuguese authorities had actually taken possession of all the merchandise they could lay hold of, and stored it in the custom house; accordingly Nuno da Cunhá assembled the chiefs of the people, and informed them that he would return the confiscated property, and allow all the natives of the place as well as strangers to come and to go, and to trade as they liked. He assured them that he had issued his proclamation, prohibiting the emigration of the inhabitants, lest they might depart full of wrong impressions and scandalous reports about the unfortunate death of the Sultán, and unjustly tarnish the good name of the Portuguese. He assured them that, being the governor of this portion of India for the most Christian and virtuous sovereign of Christendom, who desired that his officers should in all things adhere to truth and honesty, keeping their promises towards all kinds of men, from the smallest trader to the highest princes of India—he wished to justify what he had done according to the orders of his king, but especially with reference to the matters concerning the Sultán Bahádur Sháh, which his majesty had specially recommended to him, ordering him to do his utmost for the maintenance of peace, and to give no cause for breaking it. The Sultán had, however, been so hard to please, and so ill-intentioned, that he did not care for peace, and preferred to enter into an alliance with the Turks, the foes and rivals in India of the King of Portugal. Nuno da Cunhá further stated that since 1529, when he had come to India, till the present year of 1537, he had made all possible efforts to gain the confidence of the Sultán, who, however, trusted a Turk more, as it is well known that he intended to hand over to Rúmy Khán not only Bassein but even the fort of Diu, where he had found shelter in his troubles, without which he would have been compelled to go into exile to Mekkah, whereas the great concourse of ships, the increase of trade, and the revenues accruing from the customs and other duties of this island bade fair to make good the losses sustained from the Moghul wars, and to promote the welfare of the whole kingdom of Guzerat. In spite of all these advantages, which were so manifest, the Sultán lived at enmity with his own subjects, had but little intercourse with them, followed his own impulses, and, instead of associating with men of honest intentions who loved their country, surrounded himself with villains of low extraction, and constantly fomented intrigues with the princes of the Dekkan, the King of Calicut, and the chiefs along the coasts of Arabia, against the Portuguese, which were to have resulted in their expulsion from India, by a general league against them. To show that these statements were not of his own invention, Nuno da Cunhá produced the correspondence discovered among the papers of the Sultán, and of his treasurer A'bd-ul-Qáder. He also informed Khájah Safar and the other nobles present, that, when the Sultán paid him a visit on his galley with some courtiers, he was already aware of the Sultán's plan to invite him to a banquet for the purpose of making him prisoner or slaying him, and that, had he been so minded, he might easily have done to the Sultán what he had intended to do to him; but that he was ready to suffer all things in obedience to his king's order never to use any deceit or bad faith in his service; it appeared, however, that God had allowed the Sultán to kill Manoel de Sousa, in the manner Khájah Safar had seen, that the strife might arise in which the Sultán himself lost his life, in fulfilment of divine justice.

---

* Portuguese *basilisco*, some kind of big gun probably.

Nuno da Cunhá had a document of justification drawn out in Arabic and Persian, which was signed by Khájah Safar, by the principal merchants, and by the Qádys, that the Sultán Bahádur Sháh had lost his life by his own fault, and not by order of the Viceroy. Copies of this justification were sent to the princes of the Dekkan, to King Narsinga, to the King of Ormuz and other chiefs along the coasts of Arabia, and were intended also to discourage those who had conspired with the late Sultán to expel the Portuguese from India.

To allay the fears and apprehensions of the people, Nuno da Cunhá allowed the government of the town to be continued nearly in the same manner as during the lifetime of the Sultán, whose servants continued to draw their pay as before; alms were distributed to the poor as before, and the lamps in the mosques were lighted; great care was taken not to scandalise the people, but all the dues and rents flowed henceforth into the treasury of the Portuguese government. As to judicial affairs, Nuno da Cunhá ordered the people to elect their own judges according to their usage, without, however, being permitted to condemn any person to death, except after stating their reasons to him, and consulting Nina Rao, the captain of Diu and the queen-mother of the Sultán who was at Novanagur. She, however, obstinately refused to accept this compliment, or any other overtures of reconciliation, by not listening to any message; but, being apprehensive that Nuno da Cunhá would at last take umbrage at her obduracy, and forcibly deport her when he left Diu; she fled from Novanagar to a fort called Talajah, though she afterwards repented of having done so.

Before the news of the Sultán's death had reached Mirán Muhammad Khan of Kandesh, his nephew, and son of his sister, Muhammad Zemán Mirza, the brother-in-law of the Emperor Humayún, hastened to obtain the throne of Guzerat, and marched by the way of Talajah—or, according to Ferishta, of Ahmadabad—with a view of meeting the queen-mother and obtaining her assent. As he had, however, two thousand cavalry with him, the Rao, who was with the queen-mother, refused to give him admittance into the fort. He thereupon stated to him, that, having heard of the unfortunate death of the Sultán, he had come to receive the commands of the queen-mother, as he was prepared to sacrifice his own life to avenge the death of her son. The Rao thanked him for his devotedness to the cause of the deceased Sultán, and, promising to inform his mother, left him in his camp. After a while the Rao came out of the fort with the reply of the queen-mother, that she felt greatly touched by the offer of Muhammad Zemán Mirza, but that she had for the present no other occupation than the shedding of tears and bewailing the loss of her son; wherefore she would have no objection if Muhammad Zemán Mirza were to return to Mandu, whence he had come, as soon as convenient.

Indignant at the treatment the queen-mother had accorded him, and the indifference with which she had viewed his offer of assistance, wishing neither to see nor to speak to him, and not even giving him admittance into the fort, Muhammad Zeman Mirza was determined to revenge himself upon her. Accordingly he feigned that he was returning to Mandu, and, having learnt that, not feeling herself secure enough where she was, the lady intended to betake herself to a place of greater safety, he took up his position in a secluded locality through which she had to pass, and there he deprived her of all the gold and jewels she had saved from Diu, leaving her only the most indispensable articles for the prosecution of her journey. But he did more; knowing that the escort of mercenaries, mostly Persians and Arabs, who accompanied the queen, followed her only for the sake of pay, he promised them double allowances, decoyed them into his own service, and got them to proclaim him Sultan of Guzerat, which title he assumed at once when he made his entry into Novanagur. Fully aware that the Portuguese could greatly aid him in his enterprise, Muhammad Zeman Mirza at once sent off a messenger to Nuno da Cunha, to inform him that he had been elected Sultan of Guzerat by more than six thousand men, and that the Sultan Bahadur Shah had left no sons; but that, even if he had left any, the people hated him so much for his cruelties, that they would prefer to see a stranger on the throne rather than his own progeny. He requested Nuno da Cunhá to accept his friendship, and to believe that the kingdom belonged by right to the Empire of Dehli, for which reason already his brother-in-law the Emperor Humayún had laid claim to it; as, however, he did not wish to persevere in his enterprise without the aid of the Viceroy, he requested him to favour it, by ordering the Khutbah to be recited after prayers in the mosques, with his name as the new Sultán of Guzerat.* Nuno da Cunhá received the messenger honorably, and, after some negociations between the Viceroy with his captains on the one side, and Muhammad Zemán Mirza on the other, the latter gave his assent to the following treaty:—

"Muhammad Zemán Mirza, Sultán of Guzerat, grants to the King of Portugal, the whole coast of Guzerat constituting a belt of two leagues inland, with the inhabitants thereof, and all the harbours, beginning from the town of Mangalore [in the Peninsula of Cambay] as far as the Island of Beth; and in the same manner he grants the town of Daman in the Gulf of Cambay with all the lands and pergunnahs, the jurisdiction, and the rents according to the registers, as far as Bassein.

"If the king of Portugal desires to coin money for those localities and make it current in Guzerat for his own profit, it is to bear the insignia of Muhammad Zemán.

"All the ships of war, as well as transports of the late Sultán Bahádur, whether they are loaded or not, and wherever they may be, are to be surrendered to the Sultán Muhammad Zemán, who will in none of his ports allow war vessels to be built, but only such as serve for the transport of goods.

"Horses arriving by sea, will pay the same duties as they do at Goa, and these duties will be for the King of Portugal.

"Slaves escaping from Portuguese or from Musalmán territory, will be mutually surrendered.

"Any Portuguese found travelling in the Sultán's territory without the license of the Viceroy of India, or of the captain of

---

* In this he at last succeeded, the Khutbah being read in his name in the Sefa Mosque at Diu under their [*i.e.*, Portuguese] authority. W. Erskine "Baber and Humayun." London 1854, vol. II., p. 97.

Diu, or of Bassein, will be made prisoner and sent to the Portuguese authorities.

"Merchants shall travel about with their goods without let or hindrance, even if there be war between the Portuguese and the Guzeraties, nor will the duties hitherto exacted from them be demanded.

"Muhammad Zemán presents the King of Portugal with the country-house of Melique situated at Novanagar."

This treaty was drawn up in the Portuguese and Persian languages, with the signature and seal of Muhammad Zemán attached. The latter, moreover, also paid fifty thousand pardãos for distribution among the soldiers of Nuno da Cunhá, who promised to aid him to obtain the throne of Guzerat. Muhammad Zemán was, however, soon defeated by the partizans of Mirán Muhammad Shah Farakhy, nephew of Bahádur Sháh, and fled to Sind; the new Sultán Mirán Muhammad enjoyed a reign of only six weeks, and died during the same year, 1537, in which his uncle Bahádur Sháh had lost his life.

Khájah Safar goes to the mainland; brings forces; besieges the Island of Diu, which the Portuguese evacuate, and retire to the fort.

Nuno da Cunhá had conceived the highest esteem for Khájah Safar, because he had greatly aided the Portuguese in pacifying the town of Diu by his ability and influence, and by the authority he enjoyed among the Musalmáns; wherefore this Viceroy recommended him, before departing for Goa, to Captain Antonio da Silveira, who treated him most honorably, and lived with him on the best terms. Outwardly Khájah Safar was loyal and devoted to the Portuguese; in his heart, however, he brewed mischief against them, as became evident from his sudden disappearance during the night, about the end of April 1537. Being a man of large property and mercantile enterprise, his movements excited no suspicion, his vessels arrived or departed, laden with goods, and he had even begun to build several large houses in the town. He had prepared all his plans so cautiously, and executed them so skilfully, that nobody was aware of his departure until it became known that he had removed his whole property, with his numerous wives, children and servants. Khájah Safar went first to Surat, and then to Ahmadabád, where the new Sultán Mirán Muhammad held his court, and to whom he offered his services against the Portuguese, representing that they could easily be expelled from Diu. He stated that they had not even sufficient water in the fort, and that it would take a year to complete the reservoir they had begun to construct; also the bulwark of the town of the Rúmys, ordered to be built by the Viceroy, was still very low, and could not be defended. He remarked further, that the Portuguese being few in number, in the island and the town, they could not defend them against Moslem soldiers, many of whom were even now there, disguised as merchants. When the Portuguese, said he, abandon the island with the town and retire to the fort, they will not be able to live on account of the want of water already mentioned, and moreover, added the Khájah, he was certain of the approach of a Turkish fleet, now already in the Red Sea, which would not fail to make its appearance at Diu in a few months, and would bring the enterprise to a successful termination.

The above and many other reasons were most welcome to the Sultán, who already hated the Portuguese, as being infidels, and burnt also with the desire to avenge the death of his uncle. He immediately issued orders to collect in Champanir an army of five thousand cavalry and ten thousand infantry; over which he appointed Alu Khán Commander; but Khájah Safar intending so surprise Diu at once, got ready to march with three thousand cavalry and four of infantry.

As soon as this news reached Antonio da Silveira, he hastened his preparations for defence. First of all he completed the reservoir by setting many persons to work at it, and then employed for a considerable time daily three hundred oxen to fill it with water; he also collected provisions and many other things necessary during a long siege. For the security and defence of the town, he sent many labourers to construct the bulwark planned by Nuno da Cunhá, at the village or rather suburb of the Rúmys, where the captain of it Francisco Pacheco immediately established his quarters, with the men who were to defend it. Then he sent all his vessels into the channel which separates the island from the continent, and appointed Francisco de Gouvea captain of this flotilla. When the people of the town saw these preparations and became aware that a contest would soon take place, many of them fled, especially of the Baniahs; but Antonio da Silveira issued strict orders to prevent the inhabitants from emigrating, and hanged some to enforce them.

Khájah Safar was not many months in making his appearance; for, news had scarcely been brought that he was at Novanagur, when he arrived on the 26th of June 1538 at the Rúmy suburb of Diu, with some of his forces, mostly Turks, Abyssinians and Arabs, who robbed all the Guzeratis that lived there, and killed some of them; but three other Portuguese, who were there with André Villela, the custom-house clerk, escaped, and took refuge on the bulwark of Francisco Pachéco, who had twelve musketeers for defence, and sent at once a message to Antonio da Silveira in the fort. The latter arrived soon with reinforcements, and, when

Khájah Safar opened fire, it was not only returned with rapidity, but a musket-ball struck him in the arm, and he retreated with the loss of a few of his men.

This sudden attack by Khájah Safar, which was the preamble of the coming strife, as well as the information that numerous forces were marching to the island, put Antonio da Silveira more on his guard concerning its defence. As great numbers of Musalmans with arms, but disguised like peacable inhabitants, were in the town, and had already endeavoured to raise disturbances, Antonio da Silveira now deprived them all of their weapons, and imprisoned the chiefs among them as hostages for their good behaviour. The two fords, where the water was very low at ebb tide, and where the late Sultán Bahádur had already erected ramparts, were now manned by Manoel Falcâo, with fifty, and by Luiz Rodrigues de Carvalho, with twenty-five men, as also several pieces of artillery; whilst Francisco de Gouvea, the chief captain of all the vessels at Diu, entered the channel with more than twenty, and had more than three hundred musketeers to dispute its passage. The ramparts of the suburbs of the Rúmys were also built to a much greater height, and were held by Francisco Pacheco with seventy chosen men.

Not long after the repairs and preparations just mentioned, had been terminated, Alu Khán arrived, on the 14th of August, with his army which consisted of five thousand cavalry and ten thousand infantry. He deployed his forces along the channel watched by Gonzals Falcâo, Antonio da Veiga and Francisco de Gouvea. Khájah Safar, whose trifling wound had been cured, laid siege to the passage in charge of Lopo de Sousa, which was called Pálerin, and erected opposite to it a battery of three mortars, doing considerable damage, but their fire was returned by the Portuguese artillery. They had concentrated their forces on the spots where the Musalmans hoped to cross the channel, had advanced under cover of their trenches to the very edge of the water, and were moreover protected by the artillery of their ships; but they dared go no further to drive the enemy away owing to the very heavy fire of artillery. Considering also the great numbers of the Musalmans, and the impossibility of defending the whole length of the channel for a long time, as well as the daily loss of life and ammunition, and the discontent of his own people with his intention to defend the whole island, Antonio da Silveira assembled a council of his captains and principal men, and agreed with them to defend only the fort and the town where the artillery now scattered for the defence of the island would be collected; also the ramparts along the channel already metioned were to be evacuated, and all the other posts abandoned.

Accordingly the garrisons of the ramparts were during the night to march to the fort, and Paio Rodrigues de Aranjo was despatched with a barque to bring in the whole artillery of the bulwark of Gonzals Falcâo, whilst Luiz Rodrigue de Carvalho had to bring in a fusta all the artillery of his bulwark. During the night, however, it began to rain so hard, that the sky appeared to have been opened, the sea was ebbing, and the barque, which was being towed by a catur, stuck fast in the sand with its heavy weight of ten pieces of artillery, and was at once taken possession of by the Musalmans, the crew having barely time enough to make their escape in the fusta. On the same occasion the fusta of Luiz Rodrigues de Carvalho, with everything he was bringing from his bulwark, was driven on shore, with three galliots, to which the Portuguese at once set fire, lest the Musalmáns should profit by them; but they took possession of them, half burnt as they were, with all the artillery they contained. As the Portuguese were but twenty, and the Moslems numerous, they could not beat them off, and fought during two hours, till they were at last taken off by country-boats sent to their assistance. Lopo de Sousa, being in his own galliot, was driven by the storm to the mainland on to dry ground, where he was surrounded by a number of Moslems, against whom he defended himself with great valour, till the tide floated his vessel, and he sailed back to the town in spite of the surging tempest.

As soon as the posts along the channel which separates the Island of Diu from the mainland had been abandoned, both the infantry and the cavalry of the Moslems advanced into the island. Antonio de Silveira, whose intention had first been to defend the town, now abandoned it, because some artillery and vessels had fallen into the hands of the foe, as already narrated above, and because, in order to defend the town, it would have been necessary to bring great guns from the fort, and thus weaken it, whilst they could not be of much use for the defence of so great an area. No trust whatever could be placed in the loyalty of the inhabitants, who displayed their sympathy for the approaching foe by at once lifting standards and making other signals as soon as they perceived their co-religionists. Accordingly the Portuguese burnt some boats which they could not take away; destroyed all the sulphur and saltpetre, and took some of the chief merchants with them to the fort, as prisoners, not because they had in any way offended, but because they might be of use in emergencies. When the Moslems became aware that the town had been evacuated by the Portuguese, they forthwith marched in, and were received with great rejoicings and illuminations. They spent the whole night in visiting the mosques and offering thanksgivings for having conquered the town without bloodshed.

Alu Khán established his quarters in the houses of the queen-mother of the late Sultán Bahádur, which were high and isolated in the manner of a fortress; because she, being very aged, disliked being in a noisy locality and exposed to disturbances. Khájah Safar took up his lodgings near this fort, in a place called Mandavin, where he posted several mortars before dawn, not so much for the purpose of inflicting damage on the sea-bulwark opposite, as to fire on the galliot of Lopo de Sousa and other fustas, most of which, however, escaped, except two, which they sank, killing a few sailors. It seems strange that if the Musulmáns actually had so large an army as De Barros reports, they never attacked the fort, during the whole remainder of the month of August, pretending to wait for the arrival of the Turkish fleet, and contenting themselves with merely skirmishing with the Portuguese.

Arrival of the Turkish fleet at Diu, and the beginning of hostilities.

The late Sultán, Bahádur Shah, had, even after making a treaty of peace with the Portuguese, privately despatched an embassy to Constantinople with rich presents for the Sultán, valued at six hundred thousand pieces of gold,* besides large sums of money to pay the auxiliary force that might be sent to Diu. The aid expected arrived, however, only during the reign of Mahmúd Shah III, when Suleymán Pasha, who had gone from Constantinople to Cairo, and started from Suez with a large fleet, cast anchor before the Island of Diu on the 4th of September 1538. It is strange that Ferishta makes no mention of this Turkish expedition, which De Barros considers to have been of such force, that if God had not ordained the rising of Khájah Safar and the consequent detention of the fleet at Diu, it might, by sailing at once to Goa, have conquered it, and after a while have effected the expulsion of the Portuguese from the whole of India.

Miguel Vaz, a cavalier of great experience, had been sent by Antonio da Silveira to the open sea in order to discover the approach of the long expected Turkish fleet, which was, however, perceived sooner from the highest point of the fort itself. At a distance of two leagues, fourteen galleys were seen in one line, and somewhat nearer to the land seven others, towing transports. Miguel Vaz reported that he had counted forty-five galleys, and other vessels of different sizes in great numbers, whereon Antonio da Silveira immediately sent him with a letter to Nuno da Cunhá, and wrote also another to Simão Guedes at Chaul. On leaving Diu, Miguel Vaz had the good luck to escape from two Turkish galleys which pursued him, as his fusta was very light, and they had not wind enough to overtake him. When he arrived at Chaul, he met Martim Affonso de Mello Usarte, who had been sent by Nuno da Cunhá with a galley and men, from Goa, to succour Antonio da Silveira at Diu, and further forces were also promised by the Viceroy.

---

* Lafitan, vol. I., p. 213 *apud* vol. II., p. 73. Erskine "Baber and Humayun."

The arrival of the Turkish fleet, which, as we have already stated, cast anchor on the 4th September, not only dismayed the Portuguese by its magnitude, but as it appeared the next day, frightened also the Musulmáns of the town, who had at first hailed the advent of the Turks as that of their deliverers from the yoke of the Portuguese. Not one of the inhabitants paid a visit to the fleet, except Khájah Safar, who went on board the galley of Suleymán Pásha to welcome him, and to assure him that the Portuguese were terribly frightened by his arrival. The Pasha, in order to make a display of his power, and to intimidate the Portuguese still more, disembarked the next day seven hundred musketeers and archers, all Yanitcharis, richly dressed in brocades, crimson satins, and other silks of various colours with gold-embroidered, plumed felt bonnets on their heads. On their way to the town they passed under the walls of the fort at which they discharged their arquebuses, killing six and wounding twenty Portuguese, who had carelessly exposed themselves on the walls. But three hundred Portuguese musketeers so replied to their fire, that they killed fifty and wounded many more, which was an easy matter, because they marched closely together, and scarcely a shot fired into them missed its man. When the Yanitcharis arrived in the town, their principal officers desired to see Alu Khán, who dwelt in the royal palace, and was awaiting them with all the pomp and dignity due to his rank, seated on a chair of State. Seven or eight of these Turkish captains entered with the greatest nonchalance and pulled him about contemptuously by his venerable large grey beard. Some of the attendants, exasperated at this discourteous behaviour of the Turks, wished to chastise them, but Alu Khán, being a prudent man, ordered them not to touch these men, who said they were strangers, and only used the mode of salutation to which they were accustomed in their own country. Having obtained this proof of the manners of the Turks, and fearing a worse display of them, Alu Khán pretended to be very desirous to accommodate his guests as well as possible,—and left them in possession of the houses, departing himself with seven or eight thousand men to the mainland, where he encamped in a palm-grove to be well rid of the Turks; but left many of his people with Khájah Safar to aid them. De Barros alludes to no other misbehaviour of the Yanitcharis on this occasion, except the one just mentioned; but Diogo do Couto (in Ch. 7 of the 3rd book of the 5th Decada) states that they sacked the town, carried off most of its property like robbers, and dishonoured the wives and daughters of the inhabitants.

The next day, which was the 6th of September, the sky was overcast at dawn, and the south wind brought dark clouds, accompanied by lightning, and the place where the fleet had cast anchor being open, the Pasha moved it into the harbour of Madrefabat, which is five leagues distant. Nevertheless they lost their four transports with some ammunition and other things, among them a great number of saddles for horses with their trappings, which were washed on shore and fell into the hands of the Guzeratis, so that Alu Khán concluded that the intention of the Turks was to wage war by land also with the intention of subjugating India. The suspicions and distrust which Alu Khán and Khájah Safar now entertained towards the Turks were advantageous to the Portuguese, who obtained time to make better preparations during the absence of the fleet at Madrefabat, where it remained twenty days. They also learnt what the Turks contemplated doing, if they obtained success.

Whilst the fleet was absent at Madrefabat, Antonio da Silveira strengthened the walls of the fort, and increased their thickness, while the Turks who had remained at Diu, prepared the intrenchments under the direction of Khájah Safar; but the latter was desirous first of all to attack the bulwark of the Rúmy suburb, in order to avenge himself for the wound he had there received in his arm. For this purpose he requested the Pasha to let him have some heavy artillery; accordingly the latter sent three basilisks, with some other pieces, in charge of Beharám Beg and some troops. The Turks established a battery, and erected a wooden structure several stories high which they filled with inflammable materials and anchored in the channel, that it might float against the bulwarks. Francisco Gouvea, however, set this structure on fire at great personal risk, and the men who were in charge of it saved their lives by abandoning it and jumping into the water. On the same day, namely, the 13th September, Fernão de Moraes arrived in a catur from Goa, with a message from Nuna da Cunhá, and in his company Pero Vaz Guedes, with another catur, bringing some provisions. On the 26th of

September, another catur arrived from Goa, with the news that the new Viceroy D. Garcia de Noronha had come to supersede Nuno da Cunha, and brought a large fleet, from which he hoped soon to despatch reinforcements to Diu. Lopo de Sousa Coutinho offered himself to convey these glad tidings to the bulwark of the Rúmys, and, embarking in a fusta, reached it, and shouted the message out to Francisco Pacheco. This errand he accomplished successfully, but he escaped with his life only by a miracle, considering the many shots which were fired at him by the Moslems, both while he was coming to the place and while he was leaving it.

After having remained twenty days at Madrefabat, the fleet returned on the 27th September to Diu, with a favourable wind, displaying all its bunting, its silk flags of enormous dimensions floating in the breeze, and the crews all dressed out with ornaments as if coming from some festivity, with a great noise of clarions, kettle-drums and other instruments. The galleys followed, one after the other, the fusta commanded by Yusuf Hámed, their chief captain, and taking up their positions opposite the stone pavement along the bulwark of the bar defended by captain Francisco de Gouvea, fired into the fort, but were replied to from this bulwark and from the tower of St. Thomé with heavy artillery, which sank one of their galleys, but few of its crew escaping. Their own artillery did more damage to the Portuguese than that of the Moslems, for their mortars burst and wounded many of their men, and also killed some. This calamity they attributed to the bad country-made powder they used, which had been taken from Sultán Bahádur's arsenals. The bombardment lasted from sun rise till 10 A.M., when all the galleys had entered, and a great cloud of smoke covered the sky. They anchored at the southern corner of the town in front of the bulwark of Diogo Lopes de Sequeira.

All that time Khájah Safar had continued to fire at the bulwark of the suburb of the Rúmys with the basilisk he had brought from Madrefabat, and with other pieces so obstinately, that he had completely destroyed the upper portion of the bulwark. "In the afternoon, however, after the fleet had entered the channel, the artillery became silent, and an assault of the bulwark took place under the command of a Turkish officer with two thousand men, seven hundred of whom were Yanitcharis, who followed his red banner to the sounds of martial music produced by a variety of noisy instruments. The assault was furious, and as many scrambled up the ruined bulwark as could obtain a footing. The Turks were already planting their banner, and believed that they had conquered the place, when powder-pots were thrown upon them, which killed one hundred and fifty and wounded many. When the night set in, the Turks returned to their entrenchment.

During the same night, one Antonio Falleiro came to the fort with a message from Francisco Pacheco to Antonio da Silveira, that he was so fatigued from the combat as to be unable to write. Antonio Falleiro then narrated that the garrison of the bulwark was so utterly exhausted as to be unable to fight any longer, and that if the night had not put an end to the fight, all would either have been taken prisoners or killed. Khájah Safar had recommended the garrison to surrender the post, and promised to allow them freely to depart to the fort. After hearing this message, Antonio da Silveira held a council of war, and it was decided, that, as the bulwark could no longer be defended, nor reinforcements sent to it from the fort, it would be better for the garrison to surrender this post, and to aid afterwards in the defence of the fort, than to be cut to pieces. Antonio Falleiro was instructed to carry this information to Francisco Pacheco, with orders to surrender to Khájah Safar, but to obtain the ratification of Suleymán Pasha likewise, and, for the sake of greater security, to bring the document of the capitulation first to Antonio da Silveira for his approval. It appears, however, that Francisco Pacheco and those who were with him must have been greatly frightened, for, as soon as it was daylight, the garrison of the fort perceived a white banner floating on the bulwarks as a signal of peace, and also others on the wharves of the suburb of the Rúmys. About noon all the Portuguese of the bulwarks were embarked in boats by the Turks, who set up their red banner, and pulled down the white one with the sign of the cross on it, which so exasperated João Pires and six other Portuguese, that they offered opposition to the Turks, but fell all as martyrs to the faith, as De Barros piously observes.

The day after the surrender, concerning the conditions of which Antonio da Silveira knew nothing, Antonio Falleiro made his appearance at the foot of Gaspar de Sousa's bulwark, dressed like a Turk, and brought a letter from Francisco Pacheco to Antonio da Silveira informing him that he had obtained a document from the Pasha, which could not be submitted for want of time to be approved by Antonio da Silveira; that their lives, property and slaves had been granted to the garrison, but their arms and artillery would be taken by the Turks. The Portuguese were all conveyed to the town and lodged, two by two, in various houses; Francisco Pacheco with his first lieutenant Gonzalo de Almeida, and Antonio Falleiro, however, were taken on board the galley of the Pasha, who received them well, and gave them Turkish garments. Francisco

Pacheco then requested Suleymán Pasha to fulfil the conditions of the document of security which he had granted to the garrison, whereon he told Francisco Pacheco not to be uneasy on that score, as they would all be complied with, but, as the Pasha intended to attack the fort by sea and by land, he would have to retain them in custody until it was taken, after which he would send all the prisoners to India and release them. He also enjoined Francisco Pacheco to write to Antonio da Silveira to surrender the fort at once, on condition of having the lives of the garrison spared, and vessels allowed them to depart in, but informing him that in the contrary case all would have to perish, because the Turks had basilisks and formidable artillery with which to attack the fortress. When Antonio da Silveira had perused the letter, he wrote to Francisco Pacheco not to be astonished at the non-compliance of the Turks with the conditions of the capitulation, because they never kept their promises; as to the threats of the Pasha and his artillery, they were of no account. In giving this reply to Antonio Falleiro, Antonio da Silveira told him not to send or bring any more messages, for, being already a Turk, he would be fired at.

The Turks besieged the fort of Diu.

On the 5th of October the galleys of the Turks were still so scattered, that two caturs passed safely between them into the fort. In one of these Francisco Sequeira, by nation a Malabari (but a Christian and nationalised, with a pension for his services, the King of Portugal) arrived with letters from the Viceroy [illegible] Garcia de Noronha, and in the other, D. Duarte de Lima from Bassein, with ten or twelve men, to aid in the defence of the fort. Thereupon the Turks, who were already in possession of the bulwark of the Rúmy suburb, annoyed at the safe entrance of the two caturs, placed their galleys closer, determined to begin the siege in earnest, and erected their batteries on shore, aided by the local knowledge of Khájah Safar. The artillery, intended for battering the walls, consisted of nine basilisks of uncommon size, each of which carried a ball of cast-iron weighing 90 or 100 pounds; five cannons called espalhafatos for throwing large stones; fifteen pieces called lions and eagles, four culverines, and some siege-guns. The remainder of the artillery, which was of small calibre, consisted of eighty pieces, named esperas, half-esperas and falconets, with one quartas which was a terrible instrument of destruction. One of the captains of this artillery, who had placed it, was Khájah Safar, and the other Yusuf Hámed of Alexandria, with two thousand Turks distributed in various posts, besides the Guzaratis of Khájah Safar. Suleymán Pasha always remained with the fleet in his galley and never came on shore for any purpose whatever, either because he was very old and fat, or to be more secure and ready for acting in case of the arrival of the Portuguese fleet; but reports of everything were regularly brought to him, and he directed all the operations. The pieces of artillery furthest from the fort were one hundred and fifty, and the nearest, sixty paces distant from it, all protected by heavy mantlets. Between the artillery and the fort the Turks were stationed in trenches so excavated, that the Portuguese artillery could not annoy them, and the earth thrown up served as breast-works behind which they retired. The bombardment commenced on the 4th October, and did much damage to the portions of the fort intended to be breached. The skill of some of the Turkish gunners was such that they never missed their mark, and was put to the test by placing a hat on a pole arranged like the figure of a man, which a ball struck and knocked down at once. In this manner the Portuguese diverted the attention of the enemy away from the point, where they were working at the repairs of the wall. The portion of the fort most assailed and damaged was a rampart commanded by Gaspar de Sousa, which the Turks attempted to scale on the sixth day of the siege, but were repelled with great loss. On the 16th of October, whilst Gonzalo Falcão was working at the rampart under his command which also the Turks had greatly damaged, his head was clean blown off by a cannon-ball, leaving the trunk among his companions, and Paio Rodrigues de Aranjo was appointed to take his place. The death of Gonzalo Falcão was much felt by all, on account of his good character, the aid he gave by his sound advice in council, and the service he did the State by supporting many persons at his own expense during the siege.

That same morning the Turks again attacked Gaspar de Sousa, slaying in the first assault three, and wounding seven or eight men, among whom was also one João de Fonseca, hit by a musket-ball in the right arm; but valiant man that he was, he took his lance in his left hand, and continued to fight as if nothing had happened.

The combat was very hot that day, but the Portuguese nevertheless several times entered the trenches of the Turks, in order to relieve the garrison of some of those who obstinately escaladed the ramparts and attempted to gain a footing there. In spite, however, of the numerous sorties undertaken to eject the Turks from the trenches, which were now advanced very close to the fort, the defence became desperate, because the walls had been so much battered that it was an arduous labour to repair them.

Some of the bravest cavaliers were dead, and many wounded, and in need of care, the stores of powder for the cannons and muskets were drawing to a close, as well as the provisions and everything else needed for the defence; even the lances were getting unserviceable from constant use. The hope that the Viceroy would send reinforcements was gradually disappearing, and the expectation that the captains of other forts would send some necessary things was disappointed. Simão Guedes, the captain of Chaul, had indeed despatched a cargo of gunpowder, but so badly packed, that water penetrated into it, and it was found to be entirely useless when disembarked. Another and most unfortunate calamity was a kind of scurvy which attacked the garrison, so that many had sore mouths, and rotten gums, and lost their teeth, and, being obliged to work at the repairs of the walls, to fight and to watch, they spent the little time they had for rest, in groaning; they ate with great difficulty, and subsisted only on a small quantity of rice. The origin of this malady was attributed to the water of the cistern which the people drank. Owing to the fact that when the siege was apprehended, and it became necessary to finish the cistern quickly and to fill it with water, a bitumen or mortar prepared in Ormuz and called "charu" was used for cementing the reservoir and corrupted the water.

There were also many women in the fort of Diu who had taken refuge in it when the town was evacuated at the beginning of the war. One of these ladies was Dona Isabel de Veiga, daughter of a noble citizen of Goa, called Francisco Ferrão, late judge of the custom house, and wife of Manoel de Vasconcelles according to De Barros, a brave noble, born at Madeira, and judge at the custom house of Diu, but, according to Manuel de Faria-i-Sousa, a surgeon whom she aided in the labours of the siege; the heroic patriotism of this woman, which became a noble example to many others of her sex, and an encouragement in their labours, is not to be allowed to fall into oblivion. She was yet young, but gained the esteem of every body; when Antonio da Silveira sent back the catur in which Joao de Cordova had come with the news of the arrival of D. Garcia de Noronha, the new Viceroy, her husband, Manoel de Vasconcelles, wished to send her back to Goa to her father, for fear of her falling into the hands of the Turks if the fort should be taken by them. He informed her of his intention, but she assured her husband that she desired to remain, and that, if she had shown any signs of cowardice, he might reprove her, but should not inflict upon her so severe a punishment, which she thought she had not deserved; in his company the perils of the siege would not appear to her so great, but when deprived of his society, fears would constantly torment her mind, and if she could be of no other use in the siege, she might nurse the wounded in the infirmary. These reasons convincing her husband, she remained in the fort; and, as the number of combatants had become greatly diminished and they were divided by the necessity of fighting [illegible] various points, making repairs, carrying earth and stones, and performing other duties, the women heroically made offers to relieve the combatants in all these labours, to enable them to apply their whole strength in fighting, and they were gratefully accepted. Another lady who was of great use in the siege, and governed all the rest of them in concert with Isabel da Veiga, was Anna Fernandes, the aged and honoured wife of the Bachelor of Arts, João Lorenzo Fysico; her energy exceeded by far that of the other women; she encouraged them in their labours, and was very kind to the wounded and the sick on whom she attended. These duties were, however, not sufficient to engage the whole energy of Anna Fernandes; the night was no signal for her to take rest, and she patrolled the ramparts to see whether the men were at their posts. When an assault took place, moreover, she rushed with the courage of a man among the combatants to incite them. One day she stepped on to a bulwark, just after a fight had taken place, and found there the body of her son, a lad eighteen years old, but a valiant soldier, who had been struck in the head by a musket-ball. She embraced him, and, taking him in her arms, removed him from the spot, and having buried him when the strife had ceased, she continued, in spite of her immense grief, to the astonishment of all, who loved her like a mother, her pious labours among the wounded, apparently with the greatest composure.

The Turks endeavour to mine the bulwark of Gaspar de Sousa, who is slain, and the besieged are much distressed.

As the Turks had attacked the bulwark of Gaspar de Sousa more than the others, they had rased a portion of it almost to the ground. They also pushed their trench so far, that it reached the fosse in front of the bulwark. Having progressed so far, they began to undermine the bulwark, in which attempt, however, they lost many men. They used for the purpose machines of planks, broad below and narrow above, covered with ox-hides, under each of which five or six men were sheltered whilst those on the narrow top protected it and fought. When the Turks perceived this invention of theirs to be of little use, because the Portuguese threw powder-pots, oil and fire-brands upon it and burnt the machines, they took cover under the roof of their trench, which they had pushed into the fosse. Being thus sheltered and crowded, the Turks were surprised by about seventy men, who scrambled down from the bulwark, and rushed in, striking and killing; but they were soon reinforced. On the other side too Gaspar de Sousa arrived with another band of Portuguese, and ventured into the trench. When, however, he came out again, he was surrounded by a number of Turks, against whom he defended himself valiantly, even after being maimed in the legs and having lost much blood. He was slain, and the Turks cut off his hands and feet; paraded his head on a lance in triumph about all their posts, and threw his body out on to the plain, where it was afterwards found, recognised, and honorably interred. Antonio da Silveira rallied the combattants who were with Gaspar de Sousa, and appointed Rodrigo de Proenza, a man of tried valour and endurance, to be captain of the bulwark; having also learnt that the mine of the Turks had not entered further than half the thickness of the bulwark, he cleared away the rubbish and soil on the opposite side, and drove a counter-mine.

The Turks also damaged several houses, which were, however, repaired by throwing up earthworks to protect the walls. Whilst they were engaged in this work of destruction, Antonio de Sousa, who commanded on the sea-bulwark, harrassed them considerably. Nevertheless, the Portuguese, who were being attacked day and night, and were considerably reduced in numbers, could scarcely obtain any rest, and, in order to gain it, had recourse to an artifice. There was a piece of smooth ground where the Turks generally posted themselves when they wished to make an attack; and on it the Portuguese spread a great quantity of burning faggots. They kept up the smoke and fire by constantly feeding it, and the heat, united to that of the sun, was so great, that it incommoded even the besieged; but this was the only contrivance by which they could get any relief. It was not, however, of long duration, for the Turks, being hindered by the fire from approaching the fort, now no longer directed their artillery against it, but against the faggots, in such a manner as to drive the burning embers upon the bulwark. This caused some distress to the Portuguese, but the faggots were gradually extinguished in spite of the efforts of Rodrigo de Proenza to keep up the fire by feeding it with fuel, and the Turks renewed their attacks. As soon as the fire was extinguished, a number of Turks rushed upon the bulwark, throwing in many powder-pots and rockets, whereon the besieged hastened to bring as much water as they could, to prevent the explosion of the powder-pots, and the captains, with their men, abandoning their posts, came down to the platform where the repairs had been undertaken, and attacked the Turks so fiercely, that they precipitated many into the ditch, killed forty of them and wounded a large number, whilst of the Portuguese four only lost their lives, and twenty-five were wounded. Among the latter were Francisco de Gouvea, whose hands, feet and face were so burnt that he could not be recognized, Manoel de Vasconcelles, who received two arrow-wounds in the face, and Duarte Mendes; but these and other brave men, although badly wounded, fought as if they had not been hurt.

The day after this combat, which was the 26th of October, four caturs, sent from Goa by the Viceroy D. Garcia, and manned by only twenty-eight men, arrived. They brought neither gunpowder, of which the fort stood most in need, nor provisions, but were joyfully received, because the men were known for their courage. The caturs arrived at two o'clock in the morning, but, from the torches that were lit, and the noise made to welcome them, the Turks suspected their arrival, and thought that the besieged had received a large reinforcement. Khájah Safar knew very well that, when Suleymán Pasha arrived, the garrison numbered not more than six hundred combatants, many of whom had since perished or been disabled, that their artillery was not considerable, and that some of it had burst; lastly, that, as the reinforcements had arrived only in rowing vessels, they could not have been large ones; but Pasha Suleymán was greatly vexed at having lost so many of his troops, and that whenever they attacked the fort they had been repelled with great loss. He was also disgusted with Khájah Safar for having induced him to waste the strength of his fleet upon the siege of Diu, whereas his master, the Sultán of Turkey, had sent him to break the supremacy of the Portuguese on the sea; and, having already, after taking the Rúmy suburb, been informed by Antonio Falleiro that the Viceroy was expected to arrive with a fleet at a stated time, which had elapsed, he ordered the unfortunate man to be beheaded.

On the 29th October the Turks prepared to make an assault upon the sea-bulwark, which they had already so battered, that they concluded the breach would be practicable. They accordingly detached fifty barges from their galleys and galeots, upon which they embarked seven hundred men, commanded by Mahmúd Qayam Beg. At break of day the sound of many clarions was heard, and the barges hove in sight, but they were received with discharges of artillery which sank two of them. The others landed, and immediately entered the breach, where Antonio de Sousa with his companions repulsed them twice by throwing rockets and other fire-works upon them. The third time Qayam Beg himself, who led the assault bravely, was struck by the ball of an arquebuse, and died the next day. In this contest forty Turks lost their lives and many were wounded, but of the defenders only two were killed, and five wounded. When the Turks retired, the tide was ebbing, and, as there was not room for all in the barges, two of them having been sunk, some were per force struggling in the water; perceiving which, Antonio da Silveira sent a country-boat, with some men, to save them; they, however, instead of doing this, remembered only the injuries they had received from the Turks, and killed them all except two, whose lives they spared, because of the shouts from the bulwark, and brought them in alive.

The Turks now had recourse to a stratagem, and the next day, which was the 30th October, pretended to raise the siege and to depart, their real intention being, however, no longer to waste their forces in small assaults, as they had hitherto done, but to make one grand attack and take the fort by storm. In the morning they made no assault, but merely fired at the walls, according to their usual custom, in order to interrupt the repairs of the bulwark, and destroy the quarters of the Commandant and a portion of those of Sousa Continho. In the afternoon of the same day, more than a thousand men left their positions with their banner in sight of the fort, and, passing through the suburb of the Rúmys, crossed the plain, from which they embarked in the portion of the fleet stationed there, to make the Portuguese believe that they had raised the siege, and, to deceive them still more, they sailed away into the open sea. Antonio da Silveira was, however, too wary, and made every provision for resisting an attack. He went his rounds during the night, and in the second watch, when the moon had set, a sentry informed him that he heard sounds, as if people were trying gently to remove some wood at the foot of the wall. Antonio da Silveira ordered a powder-pot immediately to be let down, and by the light which it emitted, Turks were perceived applying ladders in several spots for the purpose of escalading the walls. The commandant knew that the sides where his quarters and those of Lopo de Sousa stood, would be scaled first, because they were the most battered, and ordered the musketeers to fire only when they were sure of their men, but those with lances and other arms to block the breaches and door ways.

The Turks, four thousand in number, commanded by the naval captain Yúsuf Hámed and Behrám Beg, two brave and well tried men, were drawn up close to the fort, and in their rear ten thousand Guzeratis led by Alu Khán and Khájah Safar. The action began with irregular firing, but afterwards the artillery was chiefly directed on the point of the bulwark where the assault was to take place; and, the command for it having been given with much noise of drums and clarions, a rush was made upon the quarters of the Commander. The Portuguese were at first very sparing with their musketry, and confined their efforts to the throwing of powder-pots, rockets, and other missiles into the thickest of the crowd. The Turks managed, however, to plant their red standard, and a fearful struggle ensued, which lasted four hours, till the Turks where at last repulsed, after losing more than five hundred of their men, with a great number of wounded. Of the Portugnese fourteen men were killed, and more than two hundred dangerously wounded, so that not more than forty able to bear arms remained.

The Turks raise the siege and depart.

Before describing the manner in which the Turks left Diu, it will be well to allude to the causes which induced them to sail away, as well as to the state of the fort and its garrison. When the Turks retired from the fort, after the combat just mentioned, it was in a most miserable condition. The majority of its defenders had been killed, and the remainder wounded, excepting only forty men as said above. The powder for the cannons had all been spent and the magazines swept clean, and that for the muskets consisted only of the cartridges each man had remaining in his pouch. The lances were all broken and served only as crutches to support the wounded. The walls of the fort presented a pitiable sight, being all in ruins from having been constantly battered by artillery, and the houses, from which it became necessary to remove stones, because the ramparts had constantly to be repaired, looked as if they had been shaken to pieces by an earthquake. The besieged met signs of desolation wherever they cast their eyes, except only in the person of the Commandant, Antonio da Silveira, whose courage remained undaunted and inspired them with hope. His vigilance never abated even after the retirement and embarkation of the Turks which he surmised to be perhaps a mere stratagem, as when they made their last assault. He again repaired the weak points of the fort, heaped up quantities of loose stones to be hurled at the foe, posted the few remaining musketeers on the walls, and, to make a show of numbers, caused not only the serviceable, but also the wounded, men to walk about on the ramparts, and it is stated that on this occasion some women were likewise armed.

The Turks had lost many men, their ammunition was much diminished, provisions were getting scarce, and Suleyman Pasha began to distrust the Guzeratis, because he knew that they were not well disposed towards the Turks. This was, however, only the result of his own haughty bearing, and of the misbehaviour of his officers, in consequence of which—as we have already narrated above—Alu Khan had, after the very first interview, kept aloof from the Turks, only returning afterwards when the siege began. The natives also concluded from the saddles washed ashore that the Turks meant to wage war by land, and perhaps to subjugate the province of Cambay. This suspicion was increased when Suleymán Pasha sent an envoy to the Sultán of Guzerat and to his governors with the information that he had come to avenge the death of the Sultán, Bahádur Shah, and with the commission to purchase at Ahmadabad as many horses as possible. These governors detained the envoy forty or fifty days without his being admitted to an audience with the Sultán, or allowed to buy even a single horse. The Sultán wrote to Alu Khan and to Khájah Safar to do their utmost to capture the fort of Diu for him and not for the Turks, because their haughtiness would be more difficult to bear than the dominion of the Portuguese. It is also worth mentioning that Khájah Safar was greatly annoyed—although he was too astute to show it—by the treatment he received at the hands of Suleymán Pasha, who ordered him about as if he had been his slave, and therefore vowed vengeance against him.

Khájah Safar knew very well that after one more assault similar to the last, the fort would most certainly be taken; but of this the Pasha, who had become more and more suspicious of the natives, and isolated in every respect, was not aware, or he could not have been deceived by him. Khájah Safar, in short, forged a letter as being addressed to himself by the Governor of Surat, and informing him that thirty Portuguese ships had arrived in that port from Bassein, belonging to the fleet anchored there, which consisted of one hundred and fifty sail, with six thousand soldiers on board, destined for the relief of the fort of Diu. This letter Khájah Safar gave to a servant, with orders to sail with it in a boat from Madrefabat to Diu, and if the Turks should capture him, to say that he was coming from Surat. The servant obeyed, and, being perceived by the Turks, was forthwith ushered into the presence of the Pasha, who ascertained that he had brought a letter for his master. Accordingly Khájah Safar was called and the letter given to him. He perused it and pretended to be much distressed at its contents, but communicated them to Suleymán Pasha, as he said they were of great importance. Suleymán Pasha probably at once determined to raise the siege, but he feigned great indifference about the matter, gave out that he would make a grand attack upon the fort next morning, had a very noisy entertainment that night, and granted leave to Khájah Safar to depart. The latter, however, soon made his appearance again with the information that he had heard the firing of guns in the direction of Madrefabat; and he spoke the truth, for, as will be narrated further on, certain fustas, in command of Antonio da Silveira and despatched by the Viceroy Don Garcia to Diu, were just then arriving, and desired by firing their guns to inform the garrison of their approach from a distance. This circumstance, however, served to corrobor[illegible] Khájah Safar's letter, and the Turks believed that a whole fl[illegible] of ships would soon arrive. Pasha Suleymán now wished to hasten his departure, but, being totally unaware of the miserable plight in which the small garrison of the fort was, and apprehending that a display of power would be necessary to the last, that very night ordered some of his artillery to be arranged in batteries, and troops to be posted as if preparing for a renewal of hostilities.

The next day, which was the festival of All Saints, and which the Portuguese believed to be the last of their lives, they were determined to die a honorable death and prepared for the fight; but the morning dawned very quietly, without the usual discharges of artillery, and without their perceiving any of the troops of the besiegers. This appeared strange, and they almost believed that they were dreaming. Antonio da Silveira, however, continued vigilant, as usual, and found in the afternoon of the same day that the posts abandoned by the Turks were now occupied by the troops of Khájah Safar. Accordingly he caused the alarm for attack to be sounded now and then, to conceal the weakness of his garrison, and to hinder the natives from attempting to continue the undertaking which the Turks had failed to accomplish. He sent out Antonio da Veiga with twenty-five men to destroy the trench which had been pushed as far as the ditch of the fort; this party entered the trench and met a few men whom they put to flight, and, whilst they were doing so, a soldier arrived with the information that he had found a large cannon in a deserted bastion, where the Turks had left also one of their banners still standing. Antonio da Veiga went and took the latter, but found that the cannon had burst and was therefore useless. Meanwhile a Musalman fired at him with his musket from a considerable distance, and he fell dead.

The Turks were taking in water for their ships, but, being attacked by the natives, had to fight for it, and on each side several men lost their lives. They set sail, however, on the 5th November 1538, and, finding that some of their wounded men could not stand the voyage, they sent them on shore again. That same night two fustas of the seven commanded by Antonio da Silveira—who, as we have above mentioned, had reached Madrefabat—arrived at Diu, bringing soldiers and many other necessaries. It is more than probable that these fustas, or rather their commanders, were afraid to sail into Diu before the Turkish fleet was fairly out of sight on its voyage to the Red Sea. Such was the end of this memorable siege, which the small garrison of Diu had to sustain almost totally unaided by the other Portuguese forts. No reinforcements were sent from Goa when most needed, but Manuel de Faria-i-Sousa informs us in his "Asia Portuguesa," vol. II., p. 13, that, after the departure of the Turks, the Viceroy Don Garcia de Noronha himself arrived in the port of Diu with fifty vessels (cincuenta baxeles), applauded the prowess of Antonio da Silveira, and repaired the fort, which had suffered much from the late struggle. De Barros informs us that on the same night on which the Turks sailed, Khájah Safar set the town on fire at eleven o'clock at several points, and, after witnessing the conflagration, also departed with his troops.

E. REHATSEK.

ART. V.—PATNA, DURING THE LAST DAYS OF THE MAHOMEDANS.

VERY few of those who now visit the city of Patna, with its rows of tiled mud-huts extending more than eight miles in length, are aware that there are buried within its dirt and dust, places of high historical interest; that many of the families living within its walls (now crumbled to the dust) in a state of poverty and decay, took a by no means unimportant part in the events of the past, and that the city was, not more than one hundred and thirty years ago, the scene of incidents which do not appear probable from its present unattractive look. Yet if they were to turn to the pages of the Mahomedan historians of the period, they would know that the city was the coronation place of two Great Moghuls; that it had, more than once, for its Subahdar, princes of the royal blood, who held their splendid courts within its walls; that its Mitapur Talao, was the place where on several occasions, whole armies encamped; and its Bang Jafar Khan and its environs had more than once, borne the brunt of hostile and invading armies; that the city itself was sacked, no more than a hundred and twenty-five years ago, by a desperate band of Afghans.

We propose to give in the following pages an account of Patna, during the last days of the Mahomedans.

Shaista Khan was a zealot and an iconoclast, altogether after the heart of his master, the Emperor Arangzeb, who appointed him Subahdar of Behar in 1664 A. D. Almost the first act of the new Subahdar was to collect the Jazia (capitation-tax) from the Hindus, and the partiality shown by him towards his co-religionists is said by the Mahomedan historians themselves to have been beyond all measure of justice.* Arangzeb recalled him to Delhi in 1678 A.D., appointing his third son Prince Muhammad Azim in his stead; but in the very next year Prince Muhammad Azim was recalled and Shaista Khan re-appointed Subahdar of Behar. In 1697 A. D. Prince Azimulshan, the second son of Prince Sultan Muazim, the eldest son of Arangzeb, was appointed by his grandfather Viceroy of Bengal and Behar; but, considering the youth and inexperience of the Prince, the Emperor, thought fit to leave the Dewany of Bengal in the hands of Murshid Kuli Khan. Prince Azimulshan and his young advisers did not like the sage counsel of Murshid Kuli. There was an apparent clash, and the Emperor Arangzeb, who had a high regard for the wisdom of Murshid Kuli Khan, wrote to the Prince to say, that if in future there should be any rupture between the Prince and Murshid Kuli, the Prince would find himself mistaken in calculating on his royal descent. This sharp reprimand irritated the Prince, and his constant association with Murshid Kuli Khan became very distasteful to him.

---

* The Musjid of Khaph Serai Katra attached to the Mosque, still Khaph Ebroos and the Katra (range of shops) known as Shaista Khan's attest to the pious zeal of Shaista Khan.

Leaving Murshidabad for good, the Prince came up to Behar, and settled at Patna, where he improved the fortifications and built splendid palaces for his residence. Husainali Khan, one of the Syeds of Barrah, who took such a memorable part in events during the reigns of the last Moghuls, was then his lieutenant in Behar, and this was the time, the historians say, when the city of Patna attained the zenith of its splendour. Many of the nobles of Delhi came out to live within its walls. The city was divided into a number of wards. All classes of people had separate quarters assigned to them. Dewan Mohalla was so named, because it was assigned to the clerks of the Government offices; the quarters assigned to the Lodis (Afghans) came to be known as Lodikatra Mohalla; those allotted to the Moghuls, as Moghulpara; and the princes and chiefs had their residence assigned to them in Mohalla Khowah Sekho, or, as it is otherwise called, Khowah Khoh. The poor and destitute were not forgotten; and several serais and alms-houses were built for their reception. But it was not till the year 1704 A.D., that the Prince changed the name of the city from Patna to "Azimabad," after his own name. It is said that he intended to make the city a second Delhi; but, as the Mahomedan historians exclaim, vain are the hopes of men. In 1707 the Prince received news of the serious illness of the Emperor, and, thinking his presence necessary in the capital to look to the interest of his father in case of accidents, he went away to Delhi with the ostensible object of looking after the health of Arangzeb, leaving Patna in charge of Husainali Khan, the Naib Nazim. The contest that took place amongst his three sons, for the succession to the throne on the death of Arangzeb; how the eldest Prince Sultan Muazim, with the help of his son Azimulshan got the best of his brothers and ascended the throne under the title of Bahadur Shah; how, the other princes were jealous of the great influence which Prince Azimulshan had acquired in his father's court; how, on Bahadur Shah's death in 1716 A.D., a dispute again arose between his four sons for the succession to their father's throne; how in the battle of Lahore, on the eve of victory, Prince Azimulshan's elephant ran away from the battle-field and threw him into the Ravee, where he was drowned, and how, after this, Maqzudin Jehandar Shah ascended the throne, are matters of general history. The first thought of Jehandar Shah, on ascending the throne, was to rid himself of his brothers, and the other princes of the royal blood. Sultan Karimudin, the eldest son of Prince Azimulshan, had accompanied his father to Delhi; but the second son, Sultan Ferok Sher, and the ladies of his harem remained at Murshidabad. Sultan Karimudin was put to death by Jehandar Shah, who then wrote to Murshidkuli Khan, Subahdar of Bengal, and Husainali Khan of Behar, to send Ferok Sher and his family to him at Delhi.

Murshidkuli Khan saw at once what was meant, and, taking compassion on the Prince, told him that he would not be the instrument of his death by handing him over to his enemy; but that he was powerless to defend him against the Emperor; and asked him to leave Bengal and seek safety in flight. Ferok Sher started by water for Behar. On his arrival at Patna he landed at Bang Jafar Khan with his family. The Prince's arrival occasioned much perplexity to Husainali Khan, Subahdar of Behar, who at once presented himself before him, showed him the urgent orders he had received from Delhi for his despatch, and advised him to leave Behar. Ferok Sher began to weep, and, in a state of great helplessness, told him that, relying on his character as a Syed and a soldier, he had come up to him for protection, and asked him where he was to go to with his little children when he refused him shelter. Husainali Khan did not know what to do, when all at once there came out of the ladies' tents, Malika Zamani, daughter of Ferok Sher, a girl only five years old, and seating herself on his knee, with half lisping words, implored him to save her father's life. The ladies of the harem, from behind the *parddh*, did the same. This decided the compassionate Syed, who, remarking that he had nothing but his bare sword wherewith to cope with the lord of Delhi, placed it unreservedly at the service of Ferok Sher. Ferok Sher stood up in joy and presented the Syed with his own sword. Husainali Khan knew that no time was to be lost, and set out at once for the city, where he borrowed large sums of money from the mohajuns to defray the expense of raising an army on promise of repayment on Ferok Sher's accession to the throne. Crowds of fakirs and attendants of Khankhas now assembled at Bang Jafar Khan, and raised the cry of 'God bless the Emperor.' Ferok Sher promised them splendid gifts in case of his obtaining the throne, and the historians say, that as, unlike other princes of the earth, he did not neglect to faithfully carry out his promise, *madadmashes* were actually showered on the fakirs of Patna when he ascended the throne.* An auspicious day was fixed on which Ferok Sher was brought in great state within the fort, where he was proclaimed Emperor of Delhi. The Amirs and nobles of the city, who were afraid of the power of their Subahdar, Husainali Khan, presented *nazars* and swore allegiance to the new Emperor. It is said, that, by a lucky chance, Ferok Sher came, at this time, by an immense treasure trove. Syed Abdullah, of Barrah, brother of Husainali was then Subahdar of Allahabad. Husainali's defection left him no other alternative but to declare for Ferok Sher. Thus assisted by the two Syeds, Ferok Sher set out for Delhi, and, in the battle of Agra, defeated the forces of Jehandar Shah, who had advanced to oppose his march. Ferok Sher now became Emperor of Delhi, and the two Syeds acquired unbounded influence.† On Ferok Sher's accession to the throne, numbers of destitute people from the city of Patna went up to Delhi, and, most of the nobles whom Prince Azimul Shan had settled at Patna, returned to the capital. Husainali Khan, at the time of his departure with Ferok Sher for Delhi, had left Behar in charge of Syed Nasrat Yar Khan, one of his relatives; but shortly afterwards, the Syeds, with the view of getting rid of Mir Jumla, of whose rising influence in court they were afraid, deputed him to Behar, as Subahdar, in place of Syed Nasrat Yar Khan. Mir Jumla did not like his new situation, and left for Delhi without orders. Thus followed a period of strife in Delhi during which the affairs of Behar were left unsettled. The Syeds, at last, set up Mohamad Shah as Emperor of Delhi, and sent Fakirul Daula to Behar as their lieutenant. This was in the Hegiri year 1140. Fakirul Daula's lieutenancy lasted five years, and it is said that within this period he perpetrated more than one outrage on the noble families of Patna. Seikh Abdulla, an Amir of much repectability and position, was subjected to such indignities that he went away to his Jaghir of Sowalia near Sonepur, for fear of further molestation, and built there a small mud fort where he took up his residence, but, not deeming himself safe even in this retreat, he fled to Delhi. Many were the outrages to which the Subahdar subjected the defenceless members of his family. The Jaghirs of several other nobles were attached and their owners turned out. All these men went away with their complaints to Delhi. In the meantime Muhammad Shah, whom the Barah Syeds had set up, asserted his authority, and succeeded in depriving the Syeds of their extensive and dangerous power. Amirul Umra Asmushan Daulah, a favorite of the Emperor, had now much influence in court. The Patna refugees, to several of whom he was related, applied, to him for help; orders were at once sent dismissing Fakirul Daulah and annexing the Subha of Behar to that of Bengal. Behar thus passed into the hands of Suja-ul-Daulah, Subadar of Bengal, and has remained ever since an appanage of the government of that province.* Suja-ul-Daulah was the son-in-law of Murshid Kuli Khan. He appointed Mirza Muhamad Ali Verdi Khan, one of his personal friends, then of very little note, his lieutenant in Behar. He also got him enrolled as an Amir of the court of Delhi and procured for him the title of "Muhabat Ja[illegible] Ali Verdi Khan, better known to the Mahomedan historians, Muhabat Jang, had no sons, but two daughters, who were married to two sons of his elder brother Hazi Ahmad. These sons-in-law are better known under their titles of Shahamat Jang and Hiabat Jang. Hazi Ahmad had a third son who was known as Sohabut Jang. The day on which Muhabat Jang had the good fortune to be appointed Naib Nazim of Behar, was signalized by another event, then considered very fortunate in his family, the birth of a son to his youngest daughter, the wife of Hiabat Jang. The new-born babe was named Mirza Muhammad, the future Seraj-ul-Daulah of the History of Bengal. Muhabat Jang associated his rise and the smiles of fortune with the birth of Seraj-ul-Daulah, and, as he had no sons, Seraj-ul-Daulah became his special favorite.

---

* This was the secret of how, when the Dewany passed into the hands of the East India Company, a great part of the lands of this province were found to be held under a Madadmash title.

† They made Ferok Sher, Rafiuddarafat, Rafiuddaulah and Muhamad Shah Emperors; they dethroned and killed Jehandar Shah, and Ferok Sher whom they had morever blinded; and they blinded and imprisoned princes A'azzudin Alitabar and Humayan Bakht, (Blockman's Ayeen-Akbari, p. 391).

On assuming the administration of this province, Muhabat Jang's first care, was to bring the unruly zemindars under his control; and, with this view, he fomented quarrels between them till they grew weak by mutual dissensions, and easily yielded to his superior force. The respectable classes of the population he attached to him by many kindly offices, and the help he used to afford the needy, secured him their dependence. He inspired terror in all evil-doers, by putting to death Abdul Karim, an unruly Afghan Amir.

---

* Fakirul Daulah, though reputed to be tyrannical in his treatment of the Mahomedan nobles, appears to have been a pious Mahomedan. He built a masjid which is still standing. It is only about one hundred and twenty-five feet from the city Chauk. It is yet periodically repaired at the expense of the Nawab Nazim of Murshidabad, and the rents of a range of shops (Katras) are appropriated towards its current expenses. For the identification of this and other buildings, the writer is indebted to Munshi Oli Ahmed's history of Behar.

The Bhojpur zemindars of Shahabad were always noted for their uncontrollable spirit, and their love of independence. They had never, in fact, submitted to any of the Subhadars till Muhabat Jang brought them entirely under his control. The revenue which the Emperors of Delhi derived from their Subah of Behar was not much; it had risen to about twenty lakhs of rupees during the time of Ferok Sher; but it speedily rose to thirty lakhs during the first years of the administration of Muhabat Jang. No new taxes were imposed to raise this increased revenue. The increase was simply due to proper collections; those zemindars who had hitherto evaded payment, being now compelled to pay. Suja-ul-Daulah died in 1739 A. D. The Moghul Empire had at this time been reduced to such a pitch of weakness, that even the farce of a nomination from Delhi was not gone through by his successor and son, who at once placed himself on the masnad of the Subahs of Bengal and Behar. The new Nizam, Sarfaráz Daulah by name, son of Suja-ul-Daulah, and daughter's son of Murshid Kuli Khan, was totally ignorant of the art of governing a State. His youth and inexperience brought about him a set of youthful advisers as inexperienced as himself; and he disdained the counsel of the wise and experienced statesmen who held important appointments during his father's administration. Haji Ahmed, brother of Muhabat Jang, lost all his influence at court, and took every opportunity of strongly denouncing the new *regime* in his letters to his brother. His brother's treatment at court offended Muhabat Jang. The family of Jagat Sett, bankers, who had always played an important part in the later history of the Mohamadans in Bengal, had also taken umbrage at the proceedings of the young Nizam and his advisers, and they sent to Muhabat Jang, promising their assistance. Muhabat Jang, however, sought to attain the object of his ambition under a legal title. He secretly obtained a firman appointing him Subahdar of Bengal and Behar from the court of Delhi, on a promise of paying annually to the Imperial Exchequer, a crore of rupees as the revenue of these provinces, as also such of the moveables of Sarfaráz-ul-Daulah as he could seize. With this firman in his pocket, he began to make preparations on an extensive scale for the coming struggle, giving out that he was doing so with the object of punishing the rebel zemindars of Bhojpur (Shahabad). On an appointed day he held a review of the troops near the Mitapur Talao. The commandants of the several forces were assembled; and Muhabat Jang told them how Sarfaráz-ul-Daulah was mismanaging the affairs of State, and how, owing to this reason, the Emperor had appointed him the Subahdar of these provinces. He then produced the royal firman and said, that, though the royal firman was in his hand, he could not obtain possession of the Subahs without war. He then added that the ladies of his harem and his relatives were now in durance at Murshidabad, and that nothing but a war would secure their freedom. He then told them that they were at liberty to do what they liked, but exhorted such of them as were ready to join him to swear on the Holy Koran not to forsake him and his cause till the last. All swore on the Koran to stand or fall by Muhabat Jang, who then marched with his powerful army towards Murshidabad, leaving Hiabat Jang, his son-in-law, with Syed Hidayat Ali Khan, the husband of his niece, as counsellor, in charge of the affairs of Subah Behar.

The advancing army met the forces under Sarfaráz-ul-Daulah at Gheriah, about 22 miles north of Murshidabad. In the battle which ensued, Sarfaráz-ul-Daulah was defeated and killed in the year 1740. Muhabat Jang thus became the undisputed ruler of Bengal and Behar. Hiabat Jang now ruled Behar, and Mahabat Jang procured for him a recognition of his appointment as Subhadar of Behar, from the court of Delhi. Hiabat Jang gave general satisfaction by the good management of the affairs of government. Rajah Sundar Sinha of Tikari, who played an important part in the affairs of State during those days, as also the zemindars of Tirhut, especially the new converts to the Moslem religion, called *Mians, viz.*, Namdar Khan, Kamgar Khan, Ranmast Khan, Sirdar Khan, &c, all proprietors of large landed estates, became his attached friends. Many of the respectable residents of the city enlisted themselves as officers in Nawab Hiabat Jang's army. Syed Nisarali Khan, the younger brother of Syed Hidayat Ali Khan, and Syed Abdulali Khan, his nephew, were appointed to very high offices in the army, while Rai Chintáman received the appointment of Dewan. Shortly after assuming the administration of the province, Nawab Hiabat Jang had to lead in person a punitive expedition against the turbulent zemindars of Bhojpur. Horil Sinha and Udwant Sinha,* two of these men, refused to pay their rents, and it was necessary to coerce them into doing so. There were some reasons to suspect that Roshan Khan, an Afghan, Governor of Shahabad, was in league with these men. The rebel zemindars were soon brought to their senses, but the Nawab stained his hands by treacherously putting to death Roshan Khan, who, on his entrance to the Nawab's Darbar, where he had been invited, was, assaulted by Mir Kadratullah, Jemadar, and Husain Beg Khan Governor of Monghyr, under the secret instructions of the Nawab. Syed Mehdi Nisar Khan, who figures very often in the subsequently military expeditions of those days, first distinguished himself in this Bhojpur expedition.

---

* This Udwant Sinha was the Sinha of Jagdishpur, grandfather of the notorious Koer

It was at this time that the Mahrattas commenced their raids in Bengal and Behar. Their first incursion under Pundit Bhaskar, a general under Raghuji Bhonsla of Nagpur, caused Mahabat Jang much anxiety. He had not till then tested the strength of a Mahratta army. Of their military power he had simply heard by reputation. On being informed of their approach, he immediately applied to Hiabat Jang, his son-in-law for aid, as also to the effete Moghul Court at Delhi. Hiabat Jang marched to his aid without delay, leaving Syed Hidayat Ali Khan in charge of affairs at Patna. On the cessation of the rains, Mahabut Jang advanced to oppose the Mahrattas, defeated them in a pitched battle, and expelled them from his territories. When Muhabat's letter, asking for assistance, reached Delhi, the Darbar directed Nawab Safdar Jang, Subahdar of Oude, to advance with an army to his aid. On intelligence reaching Patna of the near approach of these men, the people of the place were much alarmed. They had heard much of the want of discipline of the troops and of their propensity to plunder. Their proceedings in the country through which they passed, were certainly not calculated to tranquillize the minds of the citizens of Patna. A panic prevailed, and the zemindars and the respectable portion of the population waited in a body on the Naib Nazim, asking him to put the city in a state of defence. Nawab Hidayat Ali Khan had not then, under his command, a sufficient number of men, and he sent to Safdar Jang, Murid Khan, an officer of Delhi, who had been deputed to Bengal to demand the payment of revenue to tell him how afraid the people of Patna were of his troops, and to ask him to encamp outside the city. Safdar Jang assured him that their was no cause for any alarm, and on this assurance Hidayat Ali Khan set out to welcome him. He met Safdar Jang at Manair and accompanied the Oude chief to Patna. The forces encamped at Mitapur, but Safdar Jang ordered the Mehal Serai of Hiabat Jang to be vacated for the accommodation of his females. This order was deemed very harsh and arbitrary, as it necessitated the removal of the ladies of Hiabat

Jang's harem. Nor was Safdar Jang otherwise conciliatory in his manners. The Amirs of Azimabad, who went to visit him, received but very scant courtesy. He fancied some guns and war elephants of Hiabat Jang, and wanted to know their price. Hidayat Ali told him that neither he nor his master was a dealer in these things; that whatever belonged to Hiabat Jang, belonged of right to the Emperor of Delhi and his representatives; but, as he was there in charge as a servant, he was sorry he could not part with any thing without his master's order. Nawab Safdar Jang, however, carried them away. When the intelligence of these high-handed proceedings reached Hiabat Jang and Muhabat Jang, they were sorely annoyed. They immediately wrote to the Delhi Darbar that, as the Mahrattas had been routed, they were no longer in need of assistance. Safdar Jang was thereupon recalled and had to retire from Behar with his forces. Hidayat Ali Khan also came to be under a cloud. It was suspected that Nawab Safdar Jang's high-handed proceedings were induced by the weakness of Hidayat Ali Khan, that he was in collusion with him, and that he had made over the guns and elephants to him of his own accord; the Mahrattas, however, had not, till then, been wholly expelled from Bengal, and Mahabat Jang thought it prudent at the time to keep his own counsel. No sooner had the Mahrattas all gone than he sent out Rai Chintáman Dás to supersede Nawab Hidayat Ali Khan. Rai Chintámon Dás died soon after his arrival at Pätna, and Patna was for some days without any administrative head. In the meantime, a new danger was at hand. The Peshwas of Puna had, in consideration of the receipt of *choul*, stipulated with the Emperor of Delhi to protect his territories, and, at the request of the Emperor, Ballaji Rao, the Mahratta leader, was advancing with 40,000 Mahrattas to drive the Mahrattas of Nagpur out of Bengal. But Mahrattas, whether friends or foes, were alike the terror of the countries through which they passed, and Ballaji Rao and his Mahrattas were not exceptions. Plunder followed in the train of his march, and those who showed the slightest symptoms of resistance were tortured and maltreated. Pergannahs, Oucha and Goa in the district of Gya, and the town of Daudnagar, the properties of Ahmed Khan Khorasani, whose grandfather had founded the town, were given up to plunder, and, if Ahmed Khan had not paid down a tribute of 50,000 Rupees to the Mahratta leader, his fort of Ghausgarh, where he had taken shelter with his family, would have shared the same fate. The citizens of Patna were very much alarmed on hearing this news; and they unanimously asked Nawab Syed Hidayat Ali Khan to take the reins of government into his hands. Several of the citizens sent their families away to Hajipur, on the other side of the river. Naib Hidayat Ali Khan, the chief elect of Patna, had a friend, by name Govind Naik, a rich banker of Benares, who had received some obligation from him. This Govind Naik was a friend and relative of Ballaji. Nawab Hidayat Ali now applied to this man. Govind Naik met Ballaji and entreated him for the sake of the Nawab, of whose goodness he gave a glowing account, not to molest the people of Patna. Govind Naik's intercession had its effect. Ballaji wrote a letter to the Nawab, telling him how his praise had reached him, and sending him some presents of rare articles from the Deccan. He promised not to proceed *viâ* Patna, and accordingly went away to Bengal by the route of Tikari, Gya and Behar.

On the expulsion of the Mahrattas from Bengal, Hiabat Jang obtained leave to return to Behar. Rajah Kiratchand, Rai Royan, Alam Chand Dewan, and a son of Sujah-ud-Daulah, and other people of note followed him in his suite from Murshidabad. Before proceeding to Patna, Nawab Hiabat Jang visited Pergannahs, Sunaut, Tikari, Palamo, Seresh Kanta, Sherghotty, &c. South Behar, comprising these territories, was then under the special administrative charge of Nawab Hidayat Ali Khan, who was only detained at Patna on special duty. Hiabat Jang's object was to deprive Nawab Hidayat Ali Khan of this special charge, and to appoint Rajah Kiratchand in his stead. The zemindars of South Behar, especially Rajah Sundar Sinha of Tikari, were devoted and attached to Nawab Hidayat Ali, and Hiabat Jang had some trouble in persuading them to promise submission to Rajah Kiratchand. While he was thus engaged, news reached him of a fresh inroad of the Mahrattas. It thus became necessary for him to set out at once for Patna. On his arrival at the city gate, Nawab Hidayat Ali Khan went out to welcome him, and from the changed manners of Hiabat Jang, it soon became clear that Nawab Hidayat Ali Khan was under suspicion and in disgrace. Nawab Hidayat Ali Khan was, however, a man of spirit; and, though subsequently Hiabat Jang made some offers towards reconciliation, he could by no means be induced to stay at Patna, and went away to Delhi, where he spent the rest of his life.

As it was thought probable that the Mahrattas would try to take Patna, Hiabat Jang applied himself to the work of repairing the walls and improving the fortifications of the city. In many parts, the walls had crumbled down, and houses been built in their place. Hiabat Jang ordered these houses to be demolished, and, notwithstanding the loud clamour of the people at this proceeding, went on with his work. The Mahrattas, after all, did not come, but the people of Patna soon had occasion to find that Hiabat Jang was not wrong in improving the defences of their city. While Hiabat Jang was yet engaged in Tirhut in one of those punitive expeditions which were at that time every now and then necessary against turbulent zemindars, to make them pay their rents, news reached him that Mustafa Khan, the Afghan, was advancing with a strong force towards Patna.

Mustafa Khan, had risen, by the favor of Muhabat Jang, to the eminent position of commander of his forces.

As he was now very powerful in the army, Muhabat Jang, in order to secure his co-operation during the first Mahratta raid, had promised him the Naib Subahdarship of Behar. The Mahratta driven out, Mustafa Khan sought the fulfilment of this promise; but Muhabat Jang had no idea of depriving Hiabat Jang of his Subah, and of really carrying out a promise which he had made in a moment of panic. He at first adopted a policy of tergiversation, and when this failed, sought to get rid of Mustafa Khan by sinister means; but Mustafa Khan was as shrewd as his master, and the result was an open rupture between the two. Mustafa Khan demanded and received payment of the arrears of his salary, amounting, it is said, to seventeen lakhs of rupees. He then set out ostensibly for Delhi; but really with the intention of usurping by force the Subah of Behar. He carried away with him, by force, all the ammunitions of war from the Nizamat magazines of Rajmehal, and when news of this reached Muhabat Jang, he had no doubt as to his real designs. A message by a fast courier was immediately despatched to Hiabat Jang, apprising him of his danger. Muhabat Jang wrote him to say, that, as he thought him (Hiabat Jang) unequal to a contest with Mustafa Khan, who had, by this time, some 15,000 or 16,000 Afghans under his command, his advice was that he should fly with his family, before the enemy, by way of Hajipur, to Murshidabad, and then they would, with their joint forces, teach Mustafa Khan a lesson which he would never forget. Hiabat Jang immediately set out for Patna, and held a council of the Amirs of his court at Bang Jafar Khan. Almost all of them advised flight; but Abdul Ali Khan was strongly opposed to the adoption of this pusillanimous course. Abdulla's bold advice accorded with the views of the intrepid Subahdar. At a further council of war, it was resolved to enlist men for the army, and to ask, without delay, the zemindars and rajahs of Behar, to come with their several contingents to Patna. In a short time a force of 15,000 or 16,000 fighting men assembled at Patna. Guns were mounted on the bastions of the city walls, and from the suburbs of Bang Jafar Khan to Katra Nizamuddin a strong barrier of artillery was formed, to oppose the enemy's march. Nawab Abdul Ali Khan, Nawab Nagi Khan, Fakir-ud-Daula, Egidatt Maud Khan, brother of Amirkhan II, Subahdar of Kabul, Nawab Mehdi Nisar Khan, Ahmad Khan Khorasani, Sheikh Jehan Yar, Sheikh Hamidudin, Sheikh Amirullah, Khadim Husain Khan, Rajah Kirat Sinha, Rajah Ramnaraian, Rajah Sundar Sinha, Namdar Khan, Miah, Zemindar of Pergannah Narhat, Sirdar Khan, Kamgar Khan and Ranmast Khan, all noted Sirdars, received commands in the army. When all these preparations had been made, Hiabat Jang sent a deputation to Mustafa Khan. The deputation was composed of Haji Alam Kashmiri, Maulavi Tezali, Madaris (principal and professor) of Madrassa Saef Khan, and the Aga Azima (chief of Patna). They were to ascertain the views of Mustafa Khan and to take secret note of the strength of his forces. The deputation met Mustafa Khan at Monghyr. They told him, in the name of their master, that, if, on account of his recent rupture with Nawab Muhabat Jang, he was resolved to get away from his territories; there was nothing to prevent him from accepting the hospitality of Hiabat Jang, his old friend, and his good offices towards a reconciliation with the Nizam; that, if he had obtained a sanad for the Subahdarship of this province from the court of Delhi, he had simply to produce the same, and Hiabat Jang would be but too glad to leave it in his hands. Mustafa Khan replied that his object was neither to get away from the territories of the Nizam, nor to seek a reconciliation with him. That it was to take possession of Behar, and his sanad was the same which Muhabat Jang used in his quarrel with Sarfaraz Khan, *i.e.*, the sanad of superior force. Turning to Tezali, one of the members of the deputation, he asked, referring to the Shiah religion of the Naib Nazim, "Maulavi! If a pious Mahomedan meets at the same time in his way with Rafzis and Kafirs, whom is it his first duty to conquer?" The Maulavi said, that the Kafir ought to be the first object of attack; but Mustafa Khan dissented and said that the Rafzi was to him worse than a dog. He then politely dismissed the deputation. At Monghyr, he expelled Husain Khan, the governor, from the fort, and took possession thereof with all its munitions of war. He then advanced to Patna, where all preparations had been made to receive him. On the 17th day of the month of Safar, he reached Aman Bang, a suburb close to Bang Jafar Khan. Here he divided his forces into two columns. With the one Sirdar Balland Khan, a Rohilla chief, to whom he made over the command, was to advance in front; with the other, Mustafa Khan himself was to make a flank attack. The Rohilla chief advanced and took possession of the strong military outposts, and, passing this barrier, began to loot the bazar. Some of the famous Sirdars of Hiabat Jang, who had the defence of the outposts, were killed. At first Mustafa Khan's attack on the flank succeeded according to his wish. It was directed against that part of Hiabat Jang's army which was under the command of Rajah Kirat Sinha. The impetuous attack of the veteran Afghans, now led by their chief, soon threw the raw levies of the Nawab into utter confusion. The son-in-law of Rajah Sundar Sinha was killed, and Rajah Kirat Sinha himself, on receiving a wound, took to flight; but Hiabat Jang, who was now watching the issue of events, seeing that all was lost, advanced with a few chosen friends, as intrepid as himself, to the front of the battle. Seeing him thus advance, Mustafa Khan ordered Hakim Shah, one of his friends, to repel the attack, and to take Hiabat Jang prisoner alive; but at this time the Mahout (driver) of the elephant on which Mustafa rode, received his mortal wound, and he fell down dead. On this Mustafa Khan jumped down and mounted his horse. A panic seized his men. They thought him dead, and forthwith took to flight in the greatest confusion. Mustafa Khan did what he could to rally them; but when all his efforts failed, he himself sought safety. The forces under Sirdar Balland Khan, now completely demoralized by the loot they had got, on seeing the column under Mustafa fly, also took to their heels. The victory of the day was doubtless with Hiabat Jang; but it was by no means a decisive one. No attempt was made to pursue the flying columns of Mustafa Khan's army, and nothing was done to dislodge them from their encampment at Aman Bang. A few days afterwards Mustafa Khan renewed the attack; but he received a wound in his right eye from a musketshot, and fell down senseless on the ground, and his men immediately took to flight. They thought him dead, and, carrying him in a dooley, fled by the side of the Jalkar, (marsh), on the south of the city of Patna, towards Mitapur. Here Mustafa Khan recovered his senses. They then fled to the Naubatpur and thence to Mohabatipur. Hiabat Jang pursued them to Mohabatipur, where Muhabat Jang, who had set out from Murshidabad to his aid, joined him. Mustafa Khan retreated rapidly with his forces to the Chunar fort, where he took shelter, and as it was thought that he would not renew his attack till the end of the rainy season, Muhabat Jang gave up the pursuit as useless, and returned to Patna. While returning to Patna, he demolished the Patan stronghold of Zamaniah. On his arrival at Patna, news reached him, that the Mahrattas under Raghuji Bhonsla, to whom Mustafa Khan, at the time of his advance on Behar, had applied for aid, were now on their way to Bengal. Muhabat Jang immediately set out for Murshidabad, and Hiabat Jang began to prepare himself for a renewed attack on the part of Mustafa Khan.

Mustafa Khan, however, did not wait for the cessation of the rains; but, taking advantage of the fresh inroad of the Mahrattas, at once marched towards Behar. He was joined by Udwant Sinha, the turbulent zemindar of Jagdispur. Hiabat Jang, who was emboldened by his recent successes, advanded to Shahabad with a strong force to meet him. In a fight which took place at or about Arrah, Mustafa Khan was killed, and his men took to flight. Murtaza Khan, son of Mustafa Khan, who now took the lead, after doing his best to rally the flying forces, sought, his own safety in flight, leaving his father's dead body in the hands of the enemy. In the battle of Arrah Syed Ali Nagi Khan and Fakir-ud-Daulah, officers of the Nawab's army did excellent service. Hiabat Jang ordered Mustafa Khan's head to be cut off and his body to be cut in two. One half was suspended at the Pachim Darwaza (western gate), and the other at the Purab Darwaza (eastern gate) of Patna city.*

Murtaza Khan, who had concealed himself in the stronghold of Magri Khoh after the battle, on hearing that the Mahrattas under Raghuji Bhonsla had again invaded Bengal, and were at that time in occupation of Cuttack in the Subah of Orissa, applied to them for aid. Raghuji Bhonsla at once marched towards Behar, and, passing through Birbhum and Kharakpur, plundered Sheikhpura, then a considerable town. Proceeding westward, he crossed the Sone; and, being joined by the Afghans, he advanced to Pergannah Arwal. Muhabat Jang came in pursuit with 12,000 men, and, having joined his forces to those of Hiabat Jang, marched to encounter the enemy. At a short distance from Kasba Nabothpur the hostile armies met in 1158 Hegiri. A great fight ensued, and the Mahrattas and the Afghans were worsted. Muhammad Jafar Khan, the future Nawab Nazim of Bengal, and husband of the step-sister of Muhabat Jang, Shamsher Khan, Sirdar Khan, Afghans in the Nawab's army, as also Hiabat Jang, his brother Sohabat Jang, Mehdi Nisar Khan, Abdul Ali Khan, Attaullah Khan, and Nagi Ali Khan greatly distinguished themselves in this battle. As the Bengal forces were then in Behar, the discomfited Mahrattas, acting on the instigation of one Mir Habub, a rebel Mahomedan chief who had taken shelter in their camp, set out for a fresh invasion of that rich province. Muhabat Jang marched in pursuit, and the Mahrattas dispersed at his bold advance.

---

* Pachim Darwaza and Purab Darwaza are still so called, though, of course, all traces of the ancient city are lost.

It was at this time that the marriage of Seraj-ul-Daulah with the daughter of Muhammad Iraz, came off with great *éclat* at Murshidabad; but even at this season of rejoicing, the capital of Muhabat Jang was in a state of continued alarm. Shamsher Khan, the Afghan, who, as has been seen, had greatly distinguished himself in the battle of Kasba Nabothpur, was sullen and discontented, and apprehensions were felt that he and the Afghans under him would mutiny. As soon as the festivities were over, Muhabat Jang discharged Shamsher Khan and his Afghan band, after paying them all arrears of salary, amounting, it is said, to six or seven lakhs of rupees. Shamsher Khan retired to his Jaghir in the district of Darbhangah. Hiabat Jang thought he would further his interests and grow more powerful than his brothers, in the quarrel which he saw impending on the death of Mahabat Jang, by taking into his service such an able general as Shamsher Khan and his powerful band of Afghans. Acting on this view, he sought and obtained the permission of Muhabat Jang to do so, and began negotiating with the Afghan chief. The wily Afghan, who was seeking an opportunity of this kind, readily accepted his proposals, and, with his band of Afghan followers, came to the other side of the river, opposite Patna. Having, however, the fate of Roshan Khan Serai, of Shahabad, before him, and suspecting or beginning to suspect, a like treachery, he did not all at once venture out to this side of the river. In order to assure him, and to remove all suspicions of foul play, Hiabat Jang sent the Aga Azima (Chief of Patna), with Taki Ali Khan and Muhammad Askar Khan, to welcome him, and shortly afterwards he himself went over in his small pleasure boat to meet the Afghans. It is said that some of Shamsher Khan's followers here asked permission of their master, in the Pasthu language, which the Nawab did not understand, to assassinate him; and it is to some extent inexplicable why Shamsher Khan, whose subsequent acts prove that he harboured the intention of usurping the government of this Subah, by treacherously assassinating its chief, let slip the occasion while the prey was still in his hands. He greeted the Nawab with due honor, presented him with suitable *nazars*, and allowed him to return unmolested to the other side of the river. The Amir-ul Bahar, otherwise called the Darogah of the river, received orders to make arrangements for the crossing of the river, and Shamsher Khan, on landing with his band of 3,000 Afghan soldiers, encamped at Bang Jafar Khan. It is said that, on the first day after their landing, Sirdar Khan, with a few others, attended the Darbar, and secretly conveyed an intimation to the effect that the Afghan chief was afraid that, if his troops were to attend on the Nawab at a time when his other forces were in attendance, some unpleasant collision might arise. As if impelled by an irresistible doom, the Nawab did not see through their perfidy, and, having issued strict orders to his Sirdars and guard not to attend the Darbar, the next day he waited at his palace of Chalis Satun,* almost alone, for the reception of Shamsher Khan. Only a very few palace officers were there in attendance, namely, Muhammad Askar Khan, Mir Murtaza, Mir Badur-ul Daula, Murlidhar (herald), Ram Zani, the superintendent of the powder magazine, reported to have been a butcher by caste, and Sitaram, the superintendent of the arsenals. A few Chobdars were also present. Almost all these were unarmed. Mir Abdulla, of the Sufi sect, and Shah Bandehgi, a fakir, happened to be there at the time. Muhammad Askar Khan, with Mahtab Rai Khettri, was standing behind the masnad, where the Nawab was seated. Rajah Ramnaraian, Dewan, with a few clerks, was in the Daftarkhana of the palace. At first, one thousand Afghan horsemen presented themselves, and according to custom received the *pân* (betel) from the Nawab's hands and got leave to depart. Murad Sher Khan came next, with five hundred Afghans. Murad Sher Khan presented each of them by name to the Nawab. Each one, on being presented, gave a *nazar* and received *pân* (betel) from the hands of the Nawab. All this while the Nawab was eagerly enquiring as to when Shamsher Khan would arrive. The court Harkara at last brought news that he had come as far as the Kotwali Chaubutra, at a short distance from the palace. All the space between Bang Jafar Khan and the Chalis Satun palace was now completely in the hands of the Afghans. Abdul Rasul Khan, an Afghan, was fixed upon by Shamsher Khan, as the assassin, and he was to do his foul deed at the time of his being presented to the Nawab. It now came to his turn to be presented, and, as he received his *pân* (betel) from the hands of his intended victim, he trembled, and the *pân* fell from his hand. Hiabat Jang good humouredly told him, that, as the *pân* (betel) of his *kismat* (luck) had fallen down, he had better receive another. As, on saying this, he stretched his hand towards the tray of betel, Abdul Rasul took out a hidden dagger from his waist and aimed his blow; but his hand was not steady, and the wound inflicted on the Nawab was not a deadly one. Muhammad Askar Khan cried out, "Treachery; murder." The Nawab was taking out his sword, when Murad Sher Khan, who saw that Abdul Rasul Khan's blow had not had the desired effect, aimed such a deadly blow with his sabre, that the cut went down from the shoulder-knot to the breast. The Nawab dropped down dead on the masnad, and Murad Sher Khan, by a fell cut, severed the head from the body. Mir Murtaza Khan, who did not observe all this, thinking that the Nawab was yet alive, threw himself over the Nawab to shield him from attack, but was instantly cut to pieces. Muhammad Askar Khan, seizing Hiabat Jang's sword, fought like a lion till he fell dead; Shah Nawaz Jan, a worthy citizen of Patna, Ram Zani and Sitaram, also fell fighting against odds. Murlidhar Harkara was wounded, but escaped with his life by taking to flight. It is said, that, when flying, he came by chance on the Nawab's little casket of jewels, and this he carried away. Rajah Ramnaraian and the clerks also saved themselves by flight. Mir Abdulla the Sufi, escaped; but Shah Bandegi, the fakir, preferred death to escape by flight. The city of Patna was filled with consternation at the news of this tragedy. Amina Begum, wife of Hiabat Jang, with her youngest son, Mirza Mehdi Bahadur, shut herself in her Mahal Serai; Syed Ali Khan, son of Syed Hidayat Ali Khan, who was bethrothed to the daughter of Hiabat Jang and was being trained up in his family, was admitted by the Ataliks into the women's apartments, and thence, passing from roof to roof, came down to the river side, where he changed clothes with a poor peasant, and thus succeeded in escaping to his father's Hajiganj house. Abdul Ali Khan was arrested at the house of Sheikh Abdul Rasul Belgarami and imprisoned. He only escaped with life on the intercession of Shah Sadiq. Haji Ahmad, father of Hiabat Jang was also arrested. The Afghans, with the view of extorting from the poor old man his accumulated riches, which were reputed to be immense, put him to severe torture. The poor man escaped from his tortures, by death, which took place sixteen or seventeen days after his arrest.* The immense riches of the man, amounting, it is said, to 60 or 70 lakhs of ruepes, besides jewels, came into the hands of the Afghans, who also took possession of the treasury of Hiabat Jang, which was found to contain only three lakhs of rupees. The city of Patna was given up to plunder; the only house which escaped being the house of Syed Hidayat Ali Khan Bahadur, situated at Hajiganj. This was owing to the recommendation of Bakhtiar Khan, a mutual friend of the Syed and Shamsher Khan. Hiabat Jang's head was now hung up at the Purab Darwaza (eastern gate) of the city, where he had, only a short time before, caused one half of Mustafa Khan's body to be hung up; but Syed Muhammad Ispaháni, a devoted friend, took it down at the imminent risk of his own life, and buried it with the headless trunk in a piece of land at Begampur, which the Nawab himself had purchased for the purpose of his interment.* Shamsher Khan and Sher Khan seized the persons of Amina Begam and her minor sons and daughters, and, mounting them on a car, paraded them, without *pardah*, through the city. They then imprisoned them at Bang Jafar Khan. Syed Mehdi Nisar Khan, had been a little before, sent on a punitive expedition against some rebellious zemindars of Serish Gauta. When the news of the tragedy enacted at Patna reached that part of the country, the zemindars in a body fell on him, and he and the little band of men under his command would have been utterly crushed, had he not retreated for shelter to the fort of Rohtas, where Ali Kuli Khan, the Governor, received him with great kindness. Having thus obtained possession of the city, Shamsher Khan sent letters all round, asking the Afghans to come and join his standard. More than 50,000 Afghans responded to his call, and the city became full of these people. But, feeling himself unequal to coping with Muhabat Jang alone in the war of revenge which he saw imminent, he sent to the Mahrattas imploring their assistance. Soon a compact was entered into through the medium of Mir Habub, who, as we have before seen, was in the Mahratta camp, under which Mir Habub promised to pay all the expenses of the war, stipulating that on their obtaining the victory in the coming struggle, the Subah of Bengal was to be partitioned amongst the compacting parties; the Mahrattas and Mir Habub obtaining the province of Bengal, and Shamsher Khan the sister province of Behar.

---

* Chalis Satun, the palace of forty pillars, which Hiabat Jang had newly rebuilt, was at the back of Saif Khan's Mudrassa. It has now been levelled to the ground, and no traces at present exist of this once famous building of Patna.

---

* His tomb is still to be seen at Mouzah Sabalpur, close to Bang Jafar Khan.

Mahabat Jang was engaged in making his preparations to repel a fresh inroad of the Mahrattas, when intelligence suddenly reached him of the catastrophe of Patna. Muhabat Jang was not the man to give himself up to grief, or to be unnerved by misfortune in a moment of action. He immediately sent for the sirdars of his army, and told them of what had taken place at Patna; that his son-in-law was killed; that his daughter and her children were imprisoned, and that Subah Behar had passed out of his hands. He said that the alternative before him was to conquer or to die; and he asked those of them who were ready to die for him to come forward. All unanimously swore on the Koran to stand by him in this crisis, and he soon set out for Behar, with an avenging army of 170,000* men. Saif Khan, the Governor of Purniah, sent the Nawab a contingent of 1,500 men under Seikh Din Muhammad, Jemadar of his forces; and Ismail Khan, Governor of Monghyr, who had fled from that fort on the approach of the Afghans, also joined the army of revenge. The coldness with which he was received by Muhabat Jang showed him at once that the Nawab Nazim was very much displeased at his precipitate flight.

---

*The Makbara is still standing, and is called the Makbara of Hiabat Jang. The Shiahs regard it as the tomb of a Martyr and Saint.

The avenging army soon reached Barh. Never before did a Bengal army under the Muhammadans march with the speed with which Ali Verdi Khan Muhabat Jang marched on the present occasion. He had learnt the tactics of rapid movement from his experiences of the Mahrattas: but it was the determination of revenge, and the hope of rescuing those of his surviving relatives who were in danger, that impelled him in his march. Well do the Muhammadan historians say, that none among his contemporaries, but Asab Jah, Subahdar of the Deccan, can compare with him as a general.

While Muhabat Jang was thus rapidly advancing towards Behar, the Afghans from all parts of the province were daily swelling the ranks of the enemy, but, notwithstanding the immense plunder they had got, the services of war were evidently wanting in their camp. Mir Habub was sent for and cast into prison, because he could not find 50 lakhs of rupees which he was asked to pay, and it was not until the Mahratta scouts brought news of the near approach of Muhabat Jang that Mir Habub was released, on his promising to pay two lakhs of rupees, for which he found the security of some friendly bankers.

On his advance from Barh, Muhabat Jang kept by the bank of the river Ganges. Westward, the Ganges then bifurcated into two streams, the southernmost one narrow, but deep, and the other, the northern, forming the main stream of the

---

* This number, given by Mahommadan historians, appears to be too large. Nawab Shuja-ud-din had a standing force of 25,000 men, and, making allowance for an increase on account of Mahratta inroads, the number could not have been, during Ali Verdi's reign, seven times greater.

Ganges.* There was only one ford, caused by alluvial deposits of sand, by which the narrower stream could be crossed, and here Shamsher Khan had made a very strong entrenchment in order to oppose his march. Muhabat Jang, not deeming it prudent to risk an assault in front, proceeded southward for two miles, and then, crossing the stream at another ford, came on the flank of the enemy's entrenched position. By a vigorous assault, the enemy's position was taken and his guns seized. The Afghans fled discomfited and terror-stricken. Muhabat Jang encamped here for the night, taking every precaution to guard himself against the wiles of the foe. It is said, that he spent the whole night in prayer and meditation, to prepare himself for the event of the coming day. As soon as it was daylight, the Nawab Nazim mounted his elephant and gave orders for the advance. At Ravi Serai, five miles from Barh, the advancing army met the enemy and the battle commenced. The Afghans in front were 50,000 or 60,000 strong, and the Mahrattas, who had come up to their aid, began molesting Muhabat Jang's forces in the rear. There was a brisk cannonade, and Dilawar Khan, one of the Afghan leaders, was killed. Muhabat Jang then ordered a general charge; but the Mahrattas, in order to create a diversion in favor of their allies, the Afghans, made one of their feigned attacks. Suraj-ul-Daulah, who was by his grandfather, was very much dismayed, and suggested that the Mahrattas should be first dispersed. That veteran warrior treated the suggestion with contempt, telling his grandson, with some annoyance, that it was now his business to fight the Afghans, and not to mind the Mahrattas, whom he could bring to account at any moment. The assault began; Mir Muhammad Kasim Khan and Dost Muhammad Khan advanced, charging with their war elephants to where Murad Sher Khan, though wounded, was sitting on his, and tried to take him alive; but Murad Sher Khan was an adept in the use of his sword, and dealt it so dexterously as to cut off all the fingers of Muhammad Kasim's right hand with one stroke, and Muhammad Kasim was saved only by Dost Muhammad Khan's timely aid. Thus doubly attacked, Murad Sher Khan fought like a lion until he met with his death. The Afghans began to waver at the loss of two of their noted leaders, and when Shamsher Khan, their chief leader, fell dead, they took to flight. The Mahrattas, who had not taken any active part in the proceedings of the day, seeing their allies fly, dispersed from the scene of action. Muhabat Jang did not pursue them; but advanced at once to Patna to rescue his daughter and her children, who were in prison. His joy was unbounded when he found them alive, and there was great rejoicing in the city of Patna at this deliverance from Afghan misrule.

---

* The present topograhy does not at all agree. It appears more probable that the new Punpun, which joins the Ganges a few miles west of Barh, and which Muhabat had to cross in his march to Patna, is here mistaken for one of the branches of Ganges. Ravi Serai, where the battle took place, is on the west side of Punpun, at a short distance from the present Fatwah station of the East India Railway Company. If this be correct, Shamsher Khan must have fortified the ford of Punpun in the direct route to Patna, to oppose the advance of Muhabat Jang, while Muhabat Jang crossed the stream by another ford, more to the south.

The following officers of the Naib Nazim's army are said to have distinguished themselves very much on this occasion; *viz.*, Bahadur Ali Khan, Mir Muhammad Kasim Khan, Haidar Ali Khan Raham Khan, Fakir-ul-Daulah Beg Khan, Sheikh Jahan Yar, Nawab Sohulab Jung, Muhammad Iraz Khan, Rajah Sundar Sinha, Rajah Talwan Sinha, Asalat Khan and Dilawar Khan. The Nawab Nazim rewarded all acts of valor with inams and khillats. A party of sepoys was despatched to Darbhangah to seize the goods and effects of Shamsher Khan, and orders were sent to the Rajah of Bettiah, asking him to deliver over to the Nawab Nazim, the females of the family of Shamsher Khan, who had placed them under the protection of the Rajah. The Rajah refused to do so, and, in order to mollify the Nazim, offered to pay him three lakhs of rupees as their ransom. Muhabat Jang, however, would not hear of any such proposal, and sent to the Rajah, threatening him with the consequences of his refusal, following the threat soon after with his army to the opposite side of the Ganges. The Rajah was then compelled to submit, and all the female members of the family of Shamsher Khan were made over to the Nawab Nazim. The kind treatment which they received from him, showed his magnanimity in striking contrast with all the brutalities perpetrated by Shamsher Khan. These females were, with due regard to their modesty, admitted into the female apartments (Mehal Serai) of the Nawab Nazim, where during their stay, even Suraj ul Daulah was not permitted to enter. Every thing was provided for their comfort, and with the concurrence of her relatives, Shamsher Khan's daughter was married to Shah Muhammad Afak, an Afghan of noble birth, and some landed estates were granted in inam for the maintenance of the couple. The same consideration was shown to the female members of the family of Mir Habub, who were then in Patna. They were sent on to the Mahratta camp, where Mir Habub was then plotting for the downfall of the Nawab Nazim. Instances of such generous conduct are but rare in the history of the Muhammadan princes.

The settlement of the affairs of Behar was the next question to which the Nawab Nazim had to turn his attention. There were several surmises, but every body agreed in thinking that Sohulab Jang had the best claim to succeed his brother as Naib Nazim of Behar. The Nawab Begam, however, did not wish this to be so, and when Suraj-ul-Daulah, the favorite of herself and of her husband, threatened to commit suicide if the appointment were not given to him, she persuaded the Nawab Nazim, almost against his wishes, to adopt the unusual course of appointing Suraj-ul-Daulah as the nominal Subahdar, while vesting all the real power in Rajah Jankiram, a Bengali. Sohulab Jang was displeased, and threatened to go away to Delhi; but he ultimately yielded to the remonstrance of his uncle. Apprehending that the Mahrattas would ere long renew their attack, Muhabat Jang, hastened to Bengal with both Suraj-ul-Daulah and Sohulab Jang in his suite.

Suraj-ul-Daulah, however, was not satisfied with an arrangement under which, while he had the name, the power of Subahdar was vested in another. He took into his confidence Syed Mehdi Nisar Khan Bahadur, formerly the commandant of his father's forces, and the friends planned that Suraj-ul-Daulah should appear in Behar, and take the management of the Subah into his own hands. Suraj-ul-Daulah was then at Mednipur with Muhabat Jang; and he obtained leave on the pretence of going to Murshidabad. He then set out almost alone for Patna. Muhabat Jang got scent of what was going on, and sent a message to Suraj-ul-Daulah to return. Suraj-ul-Daulah received this message while on his way to Patna, and sent for answer, that if obstacles were thrown in his way, either his head would adorn the trophy of his grandfather, or his grandfather's would adorn his. When this insolent reply reached Muhabat Jang, it is said, he uttered the following couplet—

The Ghazis fight like lions when opposed to the foe,
They die like lambs, when they are in love.

From Kasba Ghaispur, Suraj-ul-Daulah sent intimation of his arrival to Syed Mehdi Nisar Khan, who had preceded him to Patna. The Syed came and sent orders to the zemindars all round to come with their respective forces; but Suraj-ul-Daulah could not brook delay, and marched at once to Patna, with 60 or 70 men who were with him. Evidently he thought that there would be no opposition to his entering the city; but Rajah Jankiram knew his duty, and, acting on his own responsibility, ordered the city gates to be closed, though he had not till then received any instructions from his master. Suraj-ul-Daulah's party approached the city by the South-Eastern side, where the tomb of his father stood at Begampur. This part of the city wall was under the guard of a patrol commanded by Mahant Jeswant, whose men, in the absence of their master, gave way and some of Suraj-ul-Daulah's men entered through the drains and opened the gate. Syed Mehdi Nisar Khan was wounded by a dart; but, nothing daunted, the Syed, sword in hand, entered through the city gate, leading the little party of Suraj-ul-Daulah's men. On their arrival at the gates of Hajiganj, they were met by Mahant Jeswant, who reproached the Syed for his temerity in forcing the gate under his charge during his absence. A parley was soon followed by a scuffle, Suraj-ul-Daulah's men leaving the Syed to fight alone.

The Syed fought manfully, and was only overpowered and killed when Mirza Madara Beg came to the assistance of the Mahant. On the fall of Syed Mehdi Nisar Khan, Suraj-ul-Daulah, who had taken shelter with his men near the approaches of the Masjid of Haji Tatar, did not know what to do. He fled and did not take breath till he had reached the house of the brother of Muhammad Irazi, his father-in-law. Mahant Jeswant, whose object was not to cause him any hurt, pursued him to that place, and brought the news of his safety and of the death of Syed Mehdi Nisar Khan to Rajah Jankiram.

Rajah Jankiram, ordered the head of Syed Mehdi Nisar Khan to be cut off and hung at the eastern gate of the city; but finding that this useless and inhumane proceeding was against the feelings of the Mahomedans, took it down and had it buried with the corpse*

One amiable weakness of Muhabat Jang was his fondness for Suraj-ul-Daulah. He was apprehensive of the safety of Suraj-ul-Daulah, on account of this ridiculous but rash adventure, and, to save him, followed him immediately to Barh. He did not rest till, on his arrival at Barh, he received the agreeable news that Suraj-ul-Daulah was safe. By the earnest remonstrances and entreaties of friends, Suraj-ul-Daulah was persuaded to meet him at Barh, and, on his arrival there, was received with such welcome as his conduct hardly merited. Muhabat Jang then came to Patna, where he appointed Rajah Jankiram Naib Nazim in his own right. Jankiram carried on the administration till his death in the early part of the Hegiri year 1166, and Rajah

---

* Syed Mehdi Nisar Khan was side of his father Shah Alamullah buried at Mohalla Nun Galla, by the The tomb is yet said to exist.

Ramnarain was appointed to succeed him. Rajah Ramnarain was the son of Rang Lall, who held an inferior post in the service of Muhabat Jang when he was Naib Subahdar of Behar. During Hiabat Jang's time, Rao Narain first entered the public service and was appointed a Khas Navi. Gradually he rose to the apointment of Peskar of the Dewany. Muhabat Jang appointed him Dewan when he appointed Rajah Jankiram to take charge of the administration of this province. Muhabat Jang, who was a keen appreciator of merit, now appointed him Naib Subahdar, on Rajah Jankiram's death, appointing Rajah Durlab Ram, son of Jankiram, as Ramnarain's Vakil in the Murshidabad Court.

Ali Verdi Khan Muhabat Jang died on the evening of the 9th Jamadil ul Sanui, 1169 Hegiri, and Suraj-ul-Daulah succeeded him. The events that followed at Patna properly form the subject of a fresh chapter, "Patna, in the early days of the English Government in Bengal."

G. P. S.

ART. VI.—ECONOMIC REFORM IN RURAL INDIA.

[IN FIVE CHAPTERS.]

(1.)—*Rent Reform.*

"It is our earnest desire to stimulate the peaceful industry of India; to promote works of public utility and improvement, and to administer its government for the benefit of all our subjects resident therein. In their prosperity will be our strength; in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward. And may the God of all Power grant to Us, and to those in Authority under Us, strength to carry out these Our wishes for the good of Our people." (*The Queen's Proclamation, 1st November* 1880.)

TO promote the happiness of the people of India is the distinct aim of the British Government, the distinct duty of every one of its servants.

If that mark is not to be missed, if that duty is to be effectively discharged, it is necessary that the Government and its servants should keep constantly before them in every form of work, in every detail of administration, the great truth long ago formulated by Malthus, that *the happiness of a country depends on the proportion borne by the population to the food which it can produce or acquire, on the liberality with which that food is divided, on the quantity which a day's labour will purchase.*

He, then, who would rightly govern a district or province of India, must, above all things, concentrate effort on such production and distribution of food, such development of food-purchasing power, as shall secure to the greatest possible number of the people in his charge, that minimum of subsistence below which there can be no happiness.

And as four-fifths of the people are closely connected with the land, India being almost exclusively a country of 'peasant farmers,' where even the so-called towns are, for the most part, "merely groups of villages, in the midst of which the ploughman drives his cattle afield and all the operations of agriculture go on"—it would seem that this concentration of effort, to be effective, should be directed, in the proportion of about four parts to one, to the production of food by, and its distribution among, the rural classes who live by the land.

Every one admits and deplores the general depression of these classes. The difficulty of permanently improving their condition is very great, of finding a complete remedy for their sufferings, insuperable. None the less is it a plain duty to do whatever can be done to relieve them.

At the bottom of every society in which population is at all dense in proportion to the means of subsistence, there must inevitably be a stratum, more or less thick, of pauperism and wretchedness. Practical administrators and philanthropists do not exhaust themselves in vain efforts to remedy the irremediable, and wholly to extinguish poverty, crime and hunger, but concern themselves with the means by which the scope of these evils can be narrowed, and the number of lives made wretched by them reduced.

I believe that a great deal might and ought to be done for rural India, which is neither being done, nor attempted, nor even projected. I believe that the doing of it would be work of such a simple, sensible kind as the people of England would approve, and the people of India appreciate, and that it might be so done as to lighten the burdens of the people and the anxieties of the Government, and to establish a kindlier feeling between rulers and ruled.

The time for trying to show how this may be done, seems to have come. The protection of rural India from famine is busily engaging administrative attention. The famine policy of the future is on the anvil. It embraces measures of prevention and protection as well as measures of relief. The impoverishment of the rural classes means the deterioration of their resisting energy against the attacks of famine. The greater their poverty, the worse, other things being equal, will be the calamity. The suggestions about to be made aim at lessening the impoverishment of these classes, and thereby lessening also the range and violence of famine. That is why I wish to get a hearing now, while the question how to prevent famines is still unsettled, and there is still a chance that suggestions towards its solution may be patiently listened to, and some of them, perhaps, adopted.

"During the lapse of generations," says Dr. Hunter, "despite domestic anarchy and foreign conquest, the Hindu village preserved its simple customs, written only in the imperishable tablets of tradition............ The harvest of the hamlet was dealt with as a common fund, and before the general distribution, the headman was bound to set aside the share of the King". (*Imperial Gazetteer* IV, p. 438). A writer who has minutely observed and described this primitive system as it survives to this day in an Oudh frontier district, says:—"The produce is the common property of every class in the agricultural community, from the Raja to the slave. No one is absolute owner more than the others, but each has his definite and permanent interest............ the basis of the whole society being the grain-heap." (Gonda Settlement Report, paras 83, 84).

The basis of society in India is still, the grain-heap on the threshing-floor. On it still rests the fabric of rural economy.

From year to year the people's happiness turns on the size of that heap, and the fairness of its distribution.

On it depend the support of four-fifths of the population, more than a third of the gross revenues of the State, nearly three-fifths of the revenue from taxation. (*Imperial Gazetteer*, IV, pp. 457 and 462).

In it "bound each to each by natural sympathy," centre the fiscal prosperity of the empire and the happiness of by far the greatest number of its inhabitants.

I shall try to keep this central fact steadily in view. Whenever I look up from my page, I shall try to see the harvest of the hamlet, the grain-heap on the threshing-floor; the State share in them as real to-day as it was a thousand years ago; the happiness of an empire lost or won on yonder field of scanty millet where an unequal battle is ever being fought with usurer and rack-renter, with drought and famine, with fevers and murrain, with bad markets and over-cropping, and want of capital, enterprise, and organization. And I shall try to show that if that weary battle is ever to be won, if yonder sinking, despairing peasant is ever to fight his way through the throng of cruel forces that now besets him, to a humble Earthly Paradise of fair rent, and bread to eat and raiment to put on, it can only be when England stands by his side and throws into the struggle her splendid strength of will and energy, of credit and resource.

By economic reform in rural India is meant such direct action on the production and distribution of harvest and grain-heap as will increase the wealth and lessen the poverty of the rural classes by securing:—

A larger yield;	A better market;
Cheaper production;	Fairer distribution;

Less absenteeism.

Under each of these five heads an attempt will be made to establish the necessity of reform; to trace the main lines which it should follow, and to suggest practical methods of working along those lines.

Strictly, of course, reforms affecting production should be discussed before those which relate to distribution. But the paramount importance of rent reform, and the prominent place occupied by it just now in public thought in England and India, lead me to take up the fourth of these subjects first. Even if there were no such reason, the fact that the Oudh Rent Act (XIX of 1868) still disfigures the statute-book, and that I am an Oudh district officer, would require me to say that first, which, if worth saying at all, will help, however feebly, to hasten the day when the great wrong of the Oudh ryot will be redressed at last.

Chapter I.—Rent reform;—to secure a fairer distribution of the produce between landlord and tenant.

No one who has read the Report of the Famine Commission, (II, pp. 113 to 123) will question their conclusion that rent reform in India is necessary. The steps by which that conclusion has been reached are these—

A dense population, chiefly rural, is at present bound closely to the soil, and unable to find in other livelihoods than agriculture, an escape from such hardships as are produced by the existing system of tenure. A limited right in the land is generally recognized as belonging to large classes of tenants.

The State, therefore, cannot "leave the mutual relations of the payers and receivers of rent to adjust themselves by competition, and the ordinary rules which govern commercial contracts. It has always been an accepted principle in India, that the occupant of the soil is entitled to remain there from generation to generation, provided he pays the portion of the produce which may be demanded of him by Government or by some superior holder or landlord, and this proportion has generally been fixed by local custom."

Under native rule, tenants had to be conciliated by the superior holders by such privileges as low rents and fixity of tenure to secure their support in war against the officers of the native Governments, and to keep the land, in thinly peopled tracts, under cultivation. "Rights of this kind, when once acquired, were naturally conserved and strengthened by the general feeling, that whatever is old ought to remain unaltered. The native Governments also threw their weight into the same scale by reason of their knowledge, that the payment and growth of the revenue depended on the contentment and prosperity of those who cultivated the soil; and hence it was commonly made a condition of the tenure of the superior holder, that he should not only pay the Government revenue, but also should foster the spread of cultivation, and keep the ryots contented."

The early British rulers of Bengal were "universally impressed with the belief, that the rights of the tenants were co-ordinate with those of the landlord and equal to his in point of permanence." The authors of the Permanent Settlement undoubtedly intended to place the tenant on as assured a footing of protection and security as the landlord, their object being, as was observed at the time, to secure to the "great body of the ryots the same equity and certainty as to the amount of their rents, and the same undisturbed enjoyment of the fruits of their industry" as was conferred on the zemindars. It was a general maxim in those days that the immediate cultivator of the soil should not be dispossessed of the land he occupied. It was recognized that there were measures and limits by which the rent could be defined, and that rent was not left to the arbitrary determination of the zemindar. The Court of Directors remarked in 1792 that "the faith of the State is as solemnly pledged to uphold the cultivator of the soil in the unmolested enjoyment of his long established rights as it is to maintain the zemindar in possession of his estate, or to abstain from increasing the public revenue permanently assessed upon them." Regulation I of 1793, which created the rights of the zemindars, contained the proviso that, "it being the duty of the ruling power to protect all classes of people, more particularly those who from their situations are most helpless, the Governor-General in Council will, wherever he may deem it proper, enact such regulations as he may think necessary for the protection and welfare of the dependent talukdars, ryots, and other cultivators of the soil."

The Commission find reason to believe that "the rights thus asserted in the case of the Bengal ryot existed in a more or less complete form in every part of India." They quote Sir William Muir as saying, that "there is a very general consent, that in the native state of things the resident ryot, simply as such, is, throughout the continent of India, possessed, as a rule, of a right of hereditary occupancy at the customary rates of the vicinity."

But this right became gradually obscured. The intentions of Government to maintain it were for a long time not acted upon. "With the lapse of time it became more and more difficult to ascertain what were the precise rights of tenants, and what were the customary rates of rent. It is true, that Regulations were passed directing that the rights of the ryots should be protected and preserved, and this was most emphatically inculcated in those Regulations and Acts which prescribed the procedure in making a settlement of the land-revenue in the North-Western Provinces, but no legislative enactment distinctly formulated the nature of these rights, or the mode of testing their existence, or of recording them. *While the theory was that all existing rights should receive equal attention, and while the benefit likely to accrue to the cultivators was avowedly one of the principal objects of the settlements made for long periods, there grew up a generally exaggerated estimate of the proprietary rights of the landlords, and a corresponding depreciation of the tenants' position. English ideas of proprietorship were allowed to obscure the important limtiations to which, in India, proprietorship was subject, and a tendency arose for the landlord* *to become an absolute owner, and the cultivator a rack-rented tenant at a competition rent.*"

The legislative attempt, made in and since 1859, to check this tendency and to define the rights of the tenants, have failed to secure their object.

The main feature of these attempts has been the division of cultivators in Bengal, and the North-Western Provinces into two broad classes, privileged and unprivileged ; the privileged class being protected against arbitrary ejectment or enhancement of rent, and the condition of entry into the privileged class being undisturbed occupancy for twelve years.

It is estimated that in the North-Western Provinces there are about 1,500,000 privileged, to 1,200,000 unprivileged, tenants. For Bengal the commission could get no statistics on this point. In the Punjab one-third of the whole body of tenants, or 540,000 out of about 1,640,000 are privileged. In the Central Provinces more than a third of the tenants, or 286,522 out of 755,553 are privileged. In Oudh the privileged class consists of those tenants only who are ex-proprietors. The Commission does not give their number, but states that the total number of tenants in Oudh is nearly two millions. The Review, however, of the revenue administration of the province for 1879-80, shows that the total number of holdings of all kinds is a million and a half, *of which only 8,622 are those of occupancy tenants, while 1,383,747 are those of tenants-at-will.*

"Although," say the Commission, "the intention of the legislation of recent years has clearly been to define and protect the rights of tenants, it is proved by the evidence before us, that the effect produced has been very different from the object aimed at. From all quarters it is reported that the relations between the landlord, and the tenants with occupancy rights are not in a satisfactory state, and are becoming yearly more and more hostile ; so much so, that a landlord will generally refuse any aid to his occupancy tenants, when they are in difficulties, and will do all that he can to ruin them and drive them off the land...... The fact that such rights are in constant course of accrual, frequently results in an equally constant series of efforts on the landlord's part to prevent such accrual taking place. When it has been effected, the landlord's object is to harass the tenant, and to diminish the value of his occupancy rights by bringing suit after suit for enhancement of the rent. The probable result of such a struggle is in favour of the more powerful combatant, and there is reason to fear, that in many parts of the country, the occupancy rights have been irretrievably impaired, and the point to which the efforts of Government should be directed is, therefore, to remove this conflict of interests."

Of the tenants-at-will the Commission say that "they form a large and an increasing class, the growth of which, in some parts of India, cannot be looked on without serious apprehension. They are kept in a situation of absolute dependence on the landlord which takes away the desire to improve the land, or to raise their own position, or to lay by anything from the profits of agriculture. The soil, therefore, is not unlikely, under such tenants, to become year by year less productive, and the tenant, having neither credit nor stores to fall back upon, becomes a prey to the first approach of famine."

The law, then, has failed generally "to secure adequate protection for the rights of the tenant."

In Bengal, in particular, the relations of landlord and tenant are specially unsatisfactory. The Commission feel no doubt that the condition of the rent-law, and the way in which it is administered in Bengal, are a very grave hindrance to the agricultural prosperity of the province, "and that large portions of the agricultural population remain, mainly owing to this cause, in a state of poverty at all times dangerously near to actual destitution and unable to resist the additional strain of famine."

Their conclusion as to Northern India is thus stated: "We can, however, feel no doubt that in all the provinces of Northern India, and particularly in Bengal, it is the duty of the Government to make the provisions of the law more effectual for the protection of the cultivator's rights................ Where the sub-division of land among tenants-at-will is extreme; and in a country where agriculture is almost the only possible employment for large classes of the people, the competition is so keen, that rents can be forced up to a ruinous height, and men will crowd each other till the space left to each is barely sufficient to maintain a family; any security of tenure which defends a part of the population from that competition must necessarily be to them a source of material comfort and of peace of mind, such as can hardly be conceived by a community where a diversity of occupations exist, and where those who cannot find a living on the land, are able to betake themselves to other employments. It is only under such tenures as convey permanency of holding, protection from arbitrary enhancement of rent, and security for improvements, that we can expect to see property accumulated, credit grow up, and improvements effected in the system of cultivation. There could be no greater misfortune to the country than that the numbers of the occupancy class should decrease, and that such tenants should be merged in the crowd of rack-rented tenants-at-will, who, owning no permanent connection with the land, have no incentive to thrift or to improvement. It is desirable for all parties that measures should be framed to secure the consolidation of occupancy-rights, the enlargement of the numbers of those who hold under secure tenures, and the widening the limits of that security, together with the protection of the tenant-at-will in his just rights, and the strengthening of his position by any measure that may seem wise and equitable."

In Bombay the bulk of the occupants are peasant farmers holding direct from Government, and "no conflict as to rights between superior and inferior holders has as yet risen into prominence." But "a considerable class of subordinate tenants is growing up who have no permanent interest in the land, and who pay such high rents that they must always be in a state of poverty." The Commission consider that the existence of such a class involves the same evils as have been noticed by them in the case of the tenants-at-will in Northern India.

The same view is held by the Commission, regarding the corresponding class of subordinate tenants in Madras. Of the tenants, about a million in number, who hold under the great zemindars in Madras, and not directly under Government, or under-tenants directly engaging with Government, it is said that their legal position has become precarious, that they are exposed to many forms of oppression, and excluded from all the benefits which were intended to be secured to them by the rent laws. Fresh legislation is pronounced necessary in the case of this large class of cultivators, and also in the case of ryots holding under assignees of the Government revenue.

In the opinion, then, of those who have had the best possible opportunity of forming sound views on the subject, a reform of the rent laws is necessary "in all the provinces of Northern India, and particularly in Bengal," and also, as regards the subordinate tenants and those holding under the great zemindars or other proprietors in Madras and Bombay.

The Famine Commission have not only demonstrated the necessity of rent reform, but have suggested certain alterations in the existing law and its administration.

On these, as on their other, proposed 'measures of protection and prevention,' the Government of India is collecting the opinions of the local Governments. All over India civil officers are contributing their views as to the soundness and adequacy of the Commission's recommendations. The moment is one to be seized by all who wish to take their share in influencing the decision of a great question, on the right settlement of which depends, to a very large extent, the happiness of four-fifths of the people.

Among those who have studied the question, there is probably a general consensus of opinion, not only that reform is necessary, but also as to the special objects at which it should aim, and the broad lines which it should follow. Divergences of view, of course, present themselves, but these, when analysed, are found to relate rather to the degree in which particular remedies should be applied than to the propriety of applying them. The proverbial difficulty exists—Who shall decide when doctors disagree? But the decision cannot on that account be deferred. The disease is acute. There is no disagreement as to diagnosis, but only as to details of treatment. Tonics and alteratives must be freely administered; the experts only disagree as to the strength of the doses.

As views are compared and surveys widen, much of this divergence will disappear. For it arises rather from the variety of standpoints from which the subject is regarded than from any hopeless antagonism between the views themselves.

One looks too exclusively at tenants' rights, another at landlords' wrongs. A third can see only the economic, a fourth the historical aspects of the question. Few have the time, or breadth, or patience to climb high enough to look all round.

"The peaky islet shifted shapes" as the voyagers sped past. Could they have staied to climb its tallest crag, their changing uncertain glimpses would have been replaced by a steady, equal outlook over every salient line in its precipitous contour. To such a view the enchantment lent by distance, the distance of height, is other than that of hue and illusion—

> "In regions mild of calm and serene air
> Above the smoke and stir of this dim spot,"

the charm of clearness and truth works like a spell. The shifting shapes, the conflicting aspects that seemed so full of exaggeration and distortion, are toned and blended into one harmonious picture.

It is not waste of time to dwell on this consideration. Whether years are to be saved or lost in relieving the misery of the Indian ryot, will depend not a little on the extent to which the workers and thinkers of to-day think and work; most on the broad lines on which they agree, or on the narrow side-lines on which they differ.

A broad line for agreement seems to be traced, boldly and truly, in the following words, already quoted:—"It is only under such tenures as convey *permanency of holding, protection from arbitrary enhancement of rent, and security for improvements*, that we can expect to see property accumulated, credit grow up, and improvements effected in the system of cultivation." (Report of the Famine Commission, II, p. 118).

The problem of rent reform in India lies in so recasting the rent law of each province in it, as to restore to the cultivators these three constituents of their lost tenant-right. These are the three points of the Ryot's Charter:—"The three Fs" to be worked for in future Indian Land Bills will be:—

Fixity of Tenure; | Fair Rents,
Fair dealing with improvements.

So far as the well-being of the agricultural classes depends on rent reform, it depends, almost entirely, on the thoroughness with which the Government, as chief landlord, itself sets the example of acting on these three principles in its dealings with its own tenants,—the revenue-payers of Northern India, the registered ryots of Madras and Bombay,—and constrains them to deal likewise with the cultivators subordinate to them.

But the example has first to be set. The physician must heal himself. The shattered wrecks of rural happiness lie thick below the surface of village life in India. Too many of them have been caused not by famine, pestilence, or the 'Act of God,' not by thriftless improvidence or Moghul rapacity, but by the exactions of past British Governments, by the blunders of past revenue administration, by ignorance and arrogance in high places, and want of backbone, and blind unquestioning subservience in "docile drudges." If any one doubts this, let him read the fiscal history of almost any district in India since it first came under the influence of British rule. Let him dip into Settlement Reports and Selections from Revenue records. Let him study the history of British relations with Oudh since 1775. His doubts will not survive a few hours' research.

It will be said,—the past is dead and buried. Why exhume its mouldering corpse? I reply,—I unbury no corpses, I only ask you to walk with me for a moment through the graveyard and read what is written on the tombstones. There "by the cold Hic Jacets of the dead" shall we learn lessons of truth for the living present, hope for the unborn future:

"Standing on what too long we bore
With shoulders bent and downcast eyes,
We may discern, unseen before,
A path to higher destinies.

Nor deem the irrevocable past
As wholly wasted, wholly vain,
If, rising on its wrecks, at last
To something nobler we attain."

In respect of fixity of tenure, there is probably not very much that needs to be amended in the relation of the chief landlord towards the revenue-payers and registered ryots. But over-assessments have been too frequent, suspensions and remissions for calamity are too sparingly allowed, to admit of the belief that fair rents are always secured.

That fair dealing with improvements is not yet the rule between State and Zemindar is practically admitted by the Famine Commission (Report II, p. 145), and will be shown in detail in the next chapter.

It is necessary to preface a discussion of the principles of rent reform in India by thus recalling the obligation that rests on the State, as chief landlord, scrupulously to practise towards its own tenants that which is to be preached to them in their capacity of ordinary landlords. For in this coming fight with famine, the State is about to grapple with a Hydra of huge bulk and power. Resources will be strained to the uttermost. Faint hope is there of a fortunate issue unless the spirit of might, inspire force, the spirit of counsel, wisdom. The ten-fold strength of Galahad's stroke and thrust is needed. Only as it grew in him, can it grow in the thews and sinews of the body politic. "My strength," he sings, "is as the strength of ten, *because my heart is pure.*"

In applying fixity of tenure the leading points on which a decision will have to be made, are:—(1) the conditions, breach of which should empower a landlord to procure cancelment of the tenure; (2) whether any classes of tenants should be excepted from the enjoyment of fixity of tenure, and (3) the limits within which the tenure may be alienated.

(1.) *The conditions, breach of which should empower a landlord to procure cancelment of the tenure*, are not separately discussed by the Famine Commission.

The necessary conditions seem to be:—

Punctual payment of the "fair rent"; doing well by the land, and protecting it from deterioration, abstention from intrigue or hostility against the fair, reasonable, and customary authority of the landlord.

Abstention from grave crime or misconduct against the public, or the State.

Two writers have recently published their views on this matter. Mr. H. C. Irwin (*Garden of India*, p. 332) mentions only the first of these conditions. He would authoritatively fix rents for thirty years at a time, and would make failure to pay the rent so fixed, the sole ground for eviction. "Any tenants," he says, "against whom a degree for arrears of rent had been passed should be liable to ejectment if the decree remained unsatisfied after one month from the date of an application by the decree-holder for his dispossession, or after such further time, not exceeding six months, as the Court in its discretion might allow."

The author of an excellent pamphlet on "Landlord and Tenant in Oudh," reprinted in 1881 from the Lucknow *Express*, would impose each of the four conditions. As to the first of them, he says:—"Should a landlord be allowed to evict for arrears of rent? Probably, as rack-renting would have received a heavy check, this would be both just and advisable. But to provide for bad seasons, and prevent the tenants being driven into the clutches of the money-lender, it might be well to give him, say, a year's grace, with stipulations as to interest and security," (page 18).

As to the second condition, he says:—"If the inability to cultivate up to a reasonable standard be allowed as a valid reason for ejectment, the claws of the money-lender would be cut. In cases where his operations had been carried to a point at which they became disadvantageous to agriculture, his victim and his security would disappear at the same time. He could never look forward to investing his money in a drove of slaves, tied to his village by the curse of a right of property, and pouring the whole of the fruits of their labour into his strong box. There would be no interference with the healthy development of the country at large. The power of eviction would be readily exercised by the Court in cases where it was for the advantage of agriculture that the land should change hands." (p. 16.)

As to the third and fourth conditions:—

"Should eviction be allowed on considerations not directly connected with the cultivation of the land; if, for instance, the tenant is of a bad character, or, while he pays regularly himself, stirs up the other inhabitants of the village to resist the landlord's fair and legal demands? We think so certainly, and that such a provision would be not only just, but unexceptionable as a self-acting police measure." (p. 18.)

(2.) The next question is, *whether any classes of tenants should be excepted from the enjoyment of fixity of tenure?*

Mr. Irwin, and the author of "Landlord and Tenant in Oudh," are both agreed on this point, that to whatever degree fixity of tenure is conceded, it is to be conferred on all classes of cultivators alike. "Almost all the evils," says the writer of the pamphlet, "which are attached to occupancy rights as they are at present defined in the North-Western Provinces, arise from the creation of a privileged class of tenants; where the rights of all tenants are equal, those evils could never come into existence; the landlord would gain nothing by entering into a contest in which both he and his tenantry, and the general interests of the country suffer." (p. 15.)

Mr. Irwin says:—"It must once more be repeated with an iteration which would be utterly damnable if it were not so entirely indispensable, that absolute security of tenure at a fixed, equitable rent must be made the indefeasible right of every cultivator whomsoever, not treated as the privilege of a favoured few. As a necessary condition of healthy agriculture and sound rural economy, it should be conferred on the Chamar no less than on the Brahman, on the tenant of one year's standing, as well as on him of five hundred years." (Garden of India, p. 334.)

An attempt, probably, will be made to exclude non-resident tenants from fixity of tenure. But this, I think, would be unreasonable. The non-resident tenants usually till those inferior village lands which most require improvement. To withhold fixity of tenure would be to deprive such tenants of the strongest possible stimulus to improve those lands. On the other hand, if these tenants prove incompetent and do badly by the land, the second of the proposed conditions would enable the landlord to get rid of them.

(3). *The third question to be settled is that of the limits within which the tenure may be alienated.*

Alienation takes the three forms of sub-letting, mortgage, and sale. The Famine Commission (Report II, p. 120), though in favour of extending the power of alienation by sale or mortgage, are strongly against sub-letting. They remark :—"The more valuable the occupancy right becomes by reason of such measures of protection as we have advocated, the more need will there then be of guarding against a custom which is everywhere prevalent in India, under which the privileged tenant is apt to turn into a middleman, sub-letting the land, and living on the difference between the rack-rent and the privileged rate secured to him by the law. The occupancy right can only be beneficial to the community when enjoyed by a *bonâ fide* cultivator ; and the object of the law should be to prevent any one who is not a *bonâ fide* cultivator from acquiring or retaining such rights. If this can be secured, the chief danger in the way of making such rights marketable will be removed, for they will not be able to pass into the hands of money-lenders; and if a tenant who becomes deeply involved is sold up, his land will pass to another tenant, presumably a more thrifty man, and the public interests will not suffer by such a substitution. We therefore recommend that, concurrently with the extension of the right of transfer, the practice of sub-letting by an occupancy tenant should be discouraged, or even, if possible, forbidden. Care must no doubt be taken, lest such a measure should work harshly. But if a tenant, for a long period, fails to keep up the stock required for cultivating his land, or otherwise ceases to be by occupation and habit a *bonâ fide* cultivator, the rights he or his ancestors acquired by cultivating the soil might reasonably pass from him to the person who, having become the actual cultivator, occupies his place."

This question of sub-letting was discussed at great length by the Bengal Rent-law Commission (see Report, vol. II, pp. 232—236; 401—416; 445; 456; 467; 469; 472; 474; 475 and 477). The majority of the Commission found it impossible to disallow sub-letting altogether, while admitting its great evils. The difficulties which appear to stand in the way of forbidding it in Bengal, do not, it is probable, exist in the Upper Provinces.

The Famine Commission seem to be in favor of facilitating alienation by sale and mortgage. They say, (Report, part II, p. 120):—"Though, on the whole, we regard the general concession of the power of sale of these rights to be expedient, and ultimately almost unavoidable, the immediate course to be followed by the Government must, no doubt, be to a great extent governed by local custom. Where the custom has grown up, and the tenants are in the habit of selling or mortgaging their rights in land, it should certainly be recognized by the law; and where it has not, it may be questioned whether the law should move in advance of the feelings and wishes of the people." In the passage already quoted about sub-letting, they recommend its discouragement "concurrently with the extension of the right of transfer."

The present law in the North-West Provinces (Act XII of 1881, section 8), discourages it by providing that, neither under a sub-lease given by a tenant of any of the privileged classes can a right of occupancy be acquired, nor under a sub-lease from any non-occupancy tenant holding under a written lease.

It is not easy to reconcile this view with their remark a few pages further on. (Report, part II, p. 131):—"We learn from evidence collected from all parts of India that about one-third of the landholding class are deeply and inextricably in debt, and that at least an equal proportion are in debt, though not beyond the power of recovering themselves. It is commonly observed that landholders are more indebted than tenants with occupancy rights, and tenants with rights than tenants-at-will, a result obviously attributable to the fact that, the classes which have the best security to offer, are the most eligible customers of the money-lenders."

Mr. Irwin would rigorously exclude the power of mortgage. (Garden of India, pp. 336—338). Of sale he says:—"Sale accompanied by an immediate delivery of possession might perhaps be permitted to meet the case of a cultivator who had expended capital on his land, and wished to abandon his holding for food, and to emigrate or pursue some other calling. But of such sale the sanction of the

The Bengal Rent-law Commission (Report, vol. I, p. 17), allow sale of the occupancy right, but forbid its mortgage.

Collector should be an indispensable condition, and should only be accorded where he has satisfied himself that the cultivators' intention and desire to sell are *bonâ fide,* and not forced upon him by any terrorism or cajolery of the would-be-purchaser." There is, perhaps, some confusion here between selling the right to compensation for improvements, and selling the occupancy tenure itself. A tenant should be empowered, if actually leaving his farm, to sell, by agreement, either to his landlord or to an incoming tenant the value of his unexhausted improvements. If a fair price were refused, recourse might be allowed to the Rent Court for an award. That the tenure itself should be made capable of being either sold or mortgaged, I cannot admit. It should devolve by inheritance but not be otherwise transferable.

There is a good deal of disproportion between the Famine Commission's suggestions as to the acquisition of fixity of tenure—the occupancy right—as they call it—and the course plainly indicated by their description of the tenant right of India. They establish conclusively the unquestionable right of the cultivator to permanency of tenure; they pronounce the existing legislation for his protection to be unsatisfactory and inadequate, but the glamour of that legislation is so strong, that they can recommend nothing for the ryots' deliverance that is not moulded on the very lines which have made it abortive.

Tenant-right *nascitur, non fit.* The Commission admit that it is the historic birthright of the Indian cultivator, but yet hold that it must be earned by length of occupancy, or even purchased. "The tenants-at-will," they say, "form a large and increasing class, the growth of which in some parts of India, cannot be looked upon without serious apprehension. . . . . . It is much to be desired that for tenants of this class some means should be provided by which they might, without injury to the landlords, secure occupancy right in the lands they hold." (Report II, p. 120). A plan is then suggested which, it is thought, "would operate in the direction of restoring to the cultivating class the protection which they had under the ancient custom of the country against extreme pressure by rack-renting, but which they have, in a great measure, lost under our rule." And it, or some similar plan, is recommended for adoption "in order that those among the tenants-at-will who are the best cultivators, and the most thrifty persons, may have an opportunity of raising themselves from their present precarious situation to the more secure position of an occupancy tenant." The idea thrown out is, that a valuation should be made of the amount which a landlord annually loses when a tenant acquires occupancy-right, and that a tenant-at-will should be given the privilege of "making good by instalments, during a certain number of years, a sum equal to the capitalized value of that amount, in addition to his present rental," and that he should, on so doing, "obtain the privilege and the advantages of security of tenure which attach to an occupancy tenant."

The scheme appears to be both impracticable and unjust. If the tenant-at-will is rack-rented, as he generally is, how can he possibly save anything wherewith to pay his annual instalment "in addition to his present rental?" If he is not rack-rented, and begins to put by the instalments, what is to prevent his landlord from raising the rent to a rack-rent, thereby securing the full enhancement possible, and maintaining the tenant's inferior status?

Again; why should the ryot be required to purchase a right which, by immemorial custom, is his already? If one point is clearer than another in the history of India, it is that the tenant is entitled to hold continuously from generation to generation, provided he pays the prescribed share of the produce and behaves well. The Famine Commission have themselves seen and stated this with admirable force and clearness in a portion of their Report (part II, pp. 113—115) already summarised and quoted from. It is difficult to understand how, with knowledge so sound and clear of the rights of the ryot and of the wrong done to him by allowing 'English ideas' to obscure Indian phenomena, they can have left the straight road that lay before them, the short and simple path back to the true original position, to pursue the further application of utterly unsuitable 'English ideas,' and land themselves in the preposterous conclusion that the miserable, rack-rented cottier is to be invited to put by capital and buy his own birthright. Such a conclusion recalls the famous famine *recipe*:—"Bread scarce! Why don't they live on tarts?"

The leading points to be settled under the head of Fair Rents seem to be:—

(1) The standard by which the Fair Rent is to be determined; (2) The agency, and mode by, and in, which it is to be determined; (3) The period after which the rent, so determined, may be revised, and (4) How suspensions and remissions for calamity are to be arranged for?

(1) *The standard by which the Fair Rent is to be determined.* —Here, as in much else in the land administration of India, the true road to reform lies in looking back to the time when the things to be set right first began to go wrong. If that time is found to be not so remote, and the divergence from ancient usage to be not so wide as to make the working back to it

impracticable, then steps should, as far as as possible, be retraced, and a new path traced out, following the old lines as closely as changed conditions allow.

Everyone who knows anything of the history of the relation between landlord and tenant in India, knows that the present unsatisfactory state of things is the direct outcome of comparatively recent changes, the chief of these changes being the substitution of money-rents for rents in kind, and of competition for custom. The system of rents in kind had four attributes of immense value in the protection of the cultivator. It gave him practical fixity of tenure. It fixed for him a fair rent, determined by custom, and unaffected by competition. It secured him remission of rent for calamities of season, however slight, the remission being exactly proportioned to the extent of the loss. It kept up a close mutual interest between tenant and landlord in the improvement of the land and the protection of the produce.

Each of these advantages has been lost by the general conversion of kind into cash. The fixity of tenure which naturally prevailed when landlords had nothing to gain by evicting, has disappeared. The Fair Rent, prescribed by immemorial custom in the shape of a fixed share of the produce, has been replaced by a fluctuating demand in silver, constantly forced higher and higher by the rise in prices, the increase of population, and, chiefly, by the direct aggravation of the action of competition on rents, produced by the conversion itself, coinciding, as it is has, with the decay of manufactures, the loss of military and quasi-military service, and the narrowed choice of livelihood that has resulted from the breaking-up of Native Courts, and the drain of wealth away from the hamlets and threshing-floors of rural India to more and more distant centres of government.

The elastic, self-adjusting scale of remission for calamity has been lost. The improvement and protection of field and crop are now no longer a tie of great moral and economic value between rent-payer and rent-receiver, but the fertile source of dissension between them, fatal both to the maintenance of kindly relations and to the development of rural prosperity.

It is, however, impossible to go back, on any large scale, to the system of rents in kind, and to restore, in that way, the precise degree and kind of protection which it afforded to the cultivator. Wherever possible, the reversion to it should be encouraged and promoted by taking some part of the land-revenue in kind. Probably much more could be done in the way of reverting to payments of rent and revenue in kind than is generally supposed. The Government will some day realise that (as shown by me five years ago in two papers headed "Corn in Egypt," published in the *Pioneer's* "A Fair Field," 3rd June and 9th August 1876) millions are being lost to the cultivators, the zemindars, and the exchequer of India by the present fatuous system under which, year by year, some four hundred million rupees have to be procured for the payment of rent by the barter of abnormally cheapened produce for silver, in a market in which, at the time of the barter, silver is abnormally dear, and some two hundred million of these rupees are then bartered for gold in a market in which silver is abnormally cheap. It will then be found that a great deal of this ruinous loss, by buying dear and selling cheap, might be avoided, and a new system will be adopted, one feature of which will be a considerable reversion to payments in kind in districts favourably situated for remitting produce to foreign markets. The subject will be examined in detail in my third and fourth chapters.

Still, whatever may be found practicable in this direction, rents in money will probably continue to prevail to a greater extent than rents in kind.

The object to be aimed at, therefore, seems to be the restoration, as far as possible, under a system of money rents, of the special protection enjoyed by the ryot under the old system of rents in kind.

This, I think, is the particular form which the replacement of the cultivators, "in the position they have gradually lost," must take.

The protection then enjoyed by the ryot, lay, as stated above, in the fact that payment in kind gave him fixity of tenure at a fair rent, representing a fixed customary share of the gross produce, but fluctuating in exact correspondence with the variations of outturn from season to season. Loss by calamity or fall in prices, and gain by improvements, were the joint gain and loss of landlord and tenant.

The extent to which this protection can be restored seems to depend on the answers to be given to the following questions:—

To determine the Fair Rent, when in dispute, is it possible to ascertain what share of the gross produce was being paid to the landlord at the time when the conversion into money took place?

Can the average gross produce, and its average value in money, relatively to the cultivator's means for realizing that value, be computed?

Can an effective system of remissions be secured for such exceptional diminution of outturn by calamity as is not allowed for in the settlement of the Fair Rent?

Can improvements, and the rent to be paid after improvements are made, be so regulated as to restore the mutual interest in improving and protecting the land which subsisted between landlord and tenant when rents were paid in kind?

If these four things can be done, and a Fair Rent can be thereby secured, can fixity of tenure at that rent be conceded?

As to the first of these matters there would seem to be no insuperable difficulties, except in Lower Bengal, where, it is stated, 'the share of the produce has been converted into money rents from time immemorial' (Bengal Rent Law Commission, Report II, p. 448: Minute by Mr. J. O'Kinealy). Where the conversion has been recent, there should be no difficulty at all. Barely, I should think, has it taken place at such a distance in the past as to have left no reliable traces in the memory of living persons, or in village tradition or actual surviving custom. At the worst, enough could be ascertained in those tracts, and they are numerous, where grain rents are still in vogue, or have only disappeared very recently, to furnish a sound basis for determining the landlord's fair share in similar tracts for which the information cannot be directly traced. I quote at this point the Hon'ble Kristodas Pal, to whose "Thirty-nine Articles on the Report of the Bengal Rent Law Commission," recently reprinted from the *Hindoo Patriot,* I am indebted for much clearing of my ideas as to the standard by which the fair rent should be determined. He says (Reprints, p. 105):—"If the Government really wishes to purge the courts of ceaseless litigation between the landlord and tenant, and to promote peace and good will among the two classes, it ought to provide a uniform, fixed, and precise rule for the settlement of rent. We are willing to admit that the Sovereign has always exercised that power, and that custom, which is a higher law than statutary law, has also been in favor of a fixed rule. *Examine the rent-system of any district, and you will find that at the bottom there has been everywhere a rule of proportion according to which the landlord takes a portion of the produce as rent payable by the tenant.*—"Of course it is difficult now to ascertain that proportion accurately, for when that proportion was fixed, payment was made in kind. Since the commutation of the payment into money, the theory of proportion has been practically lost sight of. We are of opinion that it should be revived, and that a definite share of the gross produce should be fixed as an equivalent of rent. What that share should be is a fair subject for discussion."

As long ago as 1865, Mr. Herbert Harington showed that in at least one district of Oudh the Fair Rent was determined by a reference to the landlord's customary share of the produce, and foresaw that it might become necessary to legislate for the adjustment of money-rents on the basis of a limitation of the landlord's demand to the equivalent of a specific portion of the produce.

The following passages occur in his Report, dated 4th April 1865, of an enquiry made by him into the condition of cultivators in the Bara Banki (then the Durriabad district). The report itself will be found in part I (The Tenant-right Question) of the 'Further Papers relating to Under-Proprietary Rights and Rights of Cultivators in Oudh, Calcutta, 1867.' The enquiry was pronounced by Sir William Muir to have been conducted 'with great care and accuracy, and with unusual breadth of view and freedom from preconceived ideas.'

"So far," wrote Mr. H. B. Harington, "as the annexed facts will warrant, only one conclusion is justified. It is that, at least, in the portion of the district examined, custom does exercise an enormous influence; that competition exists only to a most limited extent; and that usage regulates, in a remarkable degree, the exercise of the landlord's power both as to ousting tenants and to adjusting rents. Landlords and cultivators were unanimous in saying that, of the gross produce of the soil one-half is due to the landlord, the other to the cultivator. In a large number of cases, as will be detailed below, the landlord's portion is but two-fifths, the tenant taking three-fifths as his share. *It was agreed on all sides that on this understanding rents are adjusted, money payments substituted for payments in kind, and competition limited*.................. In changing the buttaie for the jumaie system, the money rate will, if practicable, be that of neighbouring fields. If this be impracticable, because in them also buttaie prevails, *the new rate will be adjusted on the last three or five years' average of the produce and its average price in the bazar*........... As already stated, the absolute right of the landlord to raise his rents is uniform by acknowledgment. It seems, however, to be as uniformly admitted that in so doing he is bound to conform to the usage of the country. In the first place, *he is supposed not to enhance the rent beyond that point at which it becomes the fair equivalent of that portion of the produce which is really his due; in other words, beyond the equivalent of two-fifths of the gross produce from the privileged, of half from the ordinary cultivator*...... It may, however, be remarked that until money payments have entirely superseded payments in kind, in other words, so long as even a few fields are rented in kind, *the real due of the cultivator and the true principle on* *which rents should be adjusted* will be kept forcibly before every body's mind..... So far as usage limits the landlord's *rent* to a specific portion of the produce, so far his rent *rate* may be said to be fixed: at the same time, its amount is so far from being fixed, that it fluctuates with the changes in the (average) amount of produce and with the average price of that produce in the bazar......... If competition be the inevitable result of our intercourse with India, it will be a competition, such as exists among Irish cottiers, and its effects can only be such as have been above described" (namely, "untold misery and agrarian outrage.") "*If there be real danger of such a result, a just law, limiting the rise of rents to the bounds imposed by custom, would be our best hope. If custom has already become a sort of right, the time for giving an expression to the unwritten law might seem to have arrived.* To check an evil tendency is easier than to counteract an existing evil....... My own belief is that arbitrary legislation may be avoided. The true remedy lies, as I venture to think, in the voluntary action of the talukdars. *So strong and so deep-seated is the feeling, that by the custom of the country the landlord should limit his demands to a specific portion of the produce, and that on this basis money rents should be adjusted, that I am convinced, we might be met half way.* Were our talukdars convinced that this is all which is required of them, that no vexatious interference was to be apprehended, and that they would be still allowed to be masters in their own estates, they would, and I believe without exception, subscribe to an agreement which would bind them to raise no rent and evict no tenant, except in accordance with the usage of the province. What that usage is, might be easily defined; its details would not be difficult to fill in; its outlines I have tried to sketch. It is true that *the existence of the custom would seem to justify the introduction of the law;* but if the best results of the law can be attained without legislative interference, much good may be realised; some evil may be avoided."

Herbert Harington's 'unusual breadth of view', and accuracy of forecast were, for the time, quite thrown away. Within little more than three years of his writing as above, the Oudh Government of 1868 forgot the solemn pledges given by Lord Dalhousie at annexation and by Lord Canning at re-occupation, that "every man shall enjoy henceforth his just rights without fear of molestation," and that the talukdari settlement should "be so framed as to secure the village occupants from extortion," and crushed the under-proprietors of Oudh by Act XXVI of 1866, the royts of Oudh by Act XIX of 1868. In 1856 Oudh was annexed, because the Government felt "that it would be guilty in the sight of God and man if it were any longer to aid it in sustaining by its countenance and power a system fraught with suffering to millions." Twelve years later the Government went out of its way to introduce another system "fraught with suffering to millions," and has sustained that system "by its countenance and power" to this day. M. de Laveleye's assertion that, "in Oudh the State has stipulated no guarantee whatever for the ryot; this is a fault and something more; it is a crime,—the crime of high treason against humanity," was a partial exaggeration, but not, as Lord Lytton called it, an "unfounded aspersion." The protection given to the Oudh ryot in 1868 and till now is utterly inadequate. As I wrote elsewhere, in October 1876, to protest against Lord Lytton's contention that the Oudh ryot had been adequately protected by elaborate legislative enactment:—"There is for him no limitation of the rent demand to a definite proportion of the average produce valued in money; no authoritative fixation for reasonably long periods; no security from capricious eviction, or from constant pressure to consent to constant enhancement. '*The court,*' in Oudh, '*shall in no case inquire into the propriety of the rate of rent payable by a tenant not having a right of occupancy.*' As long as the Legislature considers this state of things satisfactory; as long as it fails to provide any machinery for the equitable fixation of rent for reasonable periods, to the comfort or advantage of landlord and tenant alike; as long as no length of blameless tenancy confers on the Oudh ryot the bare right of protection from eviction conditional on his paying a fair rent and doing well by the land;—in a word, as long as Act XIX of 1868 remains unrepealed, the less the gauntlet is thrown down to foreign critics the better."

The second matter, the ascertainment of the average gross produce and of its average value in money is undoubtedly difficult, but by no means impracticable. In temporarily settled districts the settlement officers have already done a good deal of the task by their minute classification of soils, the compilation of field-maps and registers, and their record of the result of enquiries made about produce on different soils. In the North-West Provinces the Agricultural Department is collecting much valuable information about the outturn of ordinary soils under ordinary cultivation for comparison with the outturn on the same soils under experimental improvements. In the other provinces the North-West lead is likely to be followed before long. The computation, moreover, will only be necessary when the Fair Rent is in dispute, and the dispute cannot be settled without recourse to a Government officer. No general or compulsory interference with existing rents is contemplated; and the people of India neither expect nor appreciate complex and elaborate ways of adjusting rural disputes. So far as the settlement officers have left unascertained the average gross produce of the different tracts and pergunnahs and classes of soils, and its average value in money, the omission is one that is seriously felt by the executive, and the supply of this desideratum by the enquiries of the rent courts or rent commissions in adjusting disputed rents would possess a high administrative value, quite apart from its value in the fixation of rent. Mr. Field thinks that the computation is not impracticable. He says, (Report of the Bengal Rent Law Commission II, p. 464) and in support of the view that the principle of taking a share of the produce as the measure of rent should not be altogether abandoned :—

"Thirdly, the share may be taken upon an average of years, and the commuted money value may be calculated upon an average of prices. If the classification of the lands and crops be made sufficiently wide to embrace an accurate estimate of all reasonable differences, there ought to be no insurmountable difficulty in obtaining a fair average of all kinds of produce upon all soils. The ascertainment and record of prices are now part of the duty of every district officer; and there ought to be no valid reason why this duty should not be performed with sufficient accuracy for the local areas in every district. With these materials to hand, the task of settling rents, or adjusting the enhancement of rents, ought not to be an impossible one. No abstract theoretical rule will ever supply the want of such or some such actual materials."

The Bengal Commission have so far adopted the principle as to propose (paras 46 to 62 of their Report, and Section 23 of their Draft Rent Bill) "to take one-fourth of the average annual value of the gross produce as the *maximum limit* or *ultimate test* of the equity of the occupancy ryot's rent."

His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal thinks that this proposal "will probably meet with general acceptance," and adds: "The Commission do not, it will be seen, propose to take a share of the gross produce as the ordinary *standard* of rent, but leave enhancement to be made upon the grounds recognised by the present law as now more clearly defined and explained." (Report I, p. 3). By section 23 of the Draft Bill the average annual value of the gross produce of the land shall be calculated for staple crops only, and upon the prices at harvest time of a reasonable number of years; and the Board of Revenue is empowered to make rules for calculating such average annual value. If this can be done in Bengal in spite of the immense difficulties caused by its Permanent Settlement and the consequent absence of detailed information, *a fortiori* can it be done in Upper India. The third point will be considered when examining the question how suspensions and remissions for calamity are to be arranged for?

As to the fourth, it is clear that a good deal of the old stimulus to landlord and tenant to work together in improving the land would be considered under the proposed system. As the amount of the share of each in the outturn will increase as the average amount of the outturn rises, and decrease, as it falls, both will feel reasonably sure of enjoying a larger income from the land when its outturn is permanently increased by improvements.

So, too, with regard to works of protection. The greater the security of remission for calamity that is devised for the benefit of the tenant, the stronger will be the inducement to the landlord to co-operate with him in warding off calamity, and the closer will be the approach to a restoration of the old mutual interest.

For the full restoration of that interest, and the revival, under the new order, of all that was worth conserving in the old, as regards the improvement of the land, the association of landlord and tenant with the chief landlord, the State, is indispensable. Some suggestions on this point will be offered presently under the head of fair dealing with improvements. They will be elaborated in greater detail in my second chapter.

The fifth question has already been answered. If the ryot of India is to receive justice at the hands of the British Government, fixity of tenure at a Fair Rent *must* be granted him. For "it has always been an accepted principle in India that the occupant of the soil is entitled to remain there from generation to generation, provided he pays the portion of the produce which may be demanded by Government, or by some superior holder or landlord, and this proportion has generally been fixed by local custom." (Famine Commission Report II, p. 113).

(2.) *The agency and mode by, and in, which the Fair Rent is to be determined.*—Without actual experience of the extent to which landlords and tenants will bring forward their claims for the settlement of the Fair Rent, it is impossible to say what agency will be necessary or appropriate, or in what precise mode it should act. But a few leading requirements may be noted.

The scheme should not be brought into work in all the districts of a province, or even in all parts of the same district, at one time. Work should be begun in areas so limited, that, if stronger establishments than had been provided, were found to be necessary, they could be supplied without inconvenience. Thus time would be gained for mapping out the work to be done; for organising a staff of experts; for retracing false steps; for fixing such a rate of progress as could be worked up to without dislocating ordinary business or causing financial difficulties.

Probably only about a fifth or fourth part of a district should be attacked at a time. Whatever area might be chosen, it would be necessary to announce therein, that, while it was at all times open to landlords and tenants to adjust rents by agreement in the usual fashion, the special courts (or officers) for settling the Fair Rent in disputed cases would only be available in that area once, say, in five years, and that no claims would be heard by them which were not put in by the 31st May of the year for which work in that area was to be undertaken.

The selected courts (or officers) should, as far as possible, have 'settlement' experience.

They should be required to spend six months of the year in camp.

A local enquiry by the Court itself, or by a permanent subordinate of considerable official status, should be made an indispensable preliminary to final decision.

The greatest encouragement should be given to the adjustment of rents out of Court, and without the filing of claims. Those landlords should be specially commended on whose estates fewest claims had to be tried in Court. By getting in the claims, each year, for the area to be settled by the 31st May, there would be four months between the filing of claims and the beginning of field work. In this interval a great deal could be done to save time during the camping season for the special local work that can only then be properly done. Tours would be laid out beforehand; information about the tracts to be visited, collected from settlement reports, assessment papers, field registers, rent-rolls, and the decisions in previous rent suits. The average prices could be ascertained at which the various crops pass from the cultivator to the grain-dealer, and the average variation between those prices and the retail prices of the bazars. The extent to which cash rents have displaced rents in kind could be enquired into, the period during which the displacement has lasted, and the customary share taken by the landlord when the conversion was made.

As the issues to be decided in each claim would turn on the amount of the average produce, its average value in money on the threshing-floor at harvest time, and the customary shares prevailing when the money rent was first adopted, the hearing of claims up to, and including the striking of issues, might well take place in the long hot weather days in the station, the essential local enquiry, for the decision of the issues, being reserved for the marching season. The two months, April and May, between the close of camp work and the final filing of claims for the next season, would be the time for working up the experience gained, exchanging views, and correcting mistakes. The ordinary Rent Courts should have no jurisdiction in the decision of these claims. They would not have the necessary knowledge or experience, or weight. The settlement of the Fair Rent must be a settlement by experts, or it will be no settlement at all.

3. *The period after which the Fair Rent, thus determined, may be revised.*—At first a shorter period should be adopted than that which it may be proposed to choose at the next revision, or when full experience has been gained of the working of the scheme. For it is inevitable that numerous mistakes should be made at first, and it is desirable that they should not remain uncorrected unduly long. At first, the period for which rents are fixed should not, I think, exceed five years. In time, seven or even ten years might be the period. In view of the oscillations of prices caused by the uncertainty of seasons, the development of roads and railways, and the fluctuations in the relative values of gold and silver, I do not think it likely to be prudent, in our time, to go beyond ten years.

The Famine Commission recommend that the rent of all classes of occupancy tenants should be fixed for the term of settlement, *i.e.*, for thirty years at a time, by the settlement officer. They say (Report II, p. 119):—"Under the present law, a landlord who has sued a tenant for an enchancement of rent, can sue him again after a period of five years in the Punjab; ten years in the North-Western Provinces; one year in Bengal, and the same in the Central Provinces in respect of a "conditional" occupant; moreover, as the landlord can thus sue his tenants in detail in successive years, the sore is constantly kept open. We are of opinion that most of these evils could be avoided by reverting to the original principle under which the rent of privileged tenants could be altered only at the same time as the revenue, and had to be fixed periodically by the same officer who fixed the revenue; so that it should be the duty of the settlement officer to assess the rent, field by field (following the practice in Southern India), and then to base his assessment of the revenue on a fixed proportion of the rent-roll; we recommend that this principle should be submitted for the favourable consideration of the governments of the different provinces concerned. If they consider that it would not be unfair to the landlords, we are of opinion that it would be advantageous to the general well-being of the country, and should be extended to all classes of occupancy tenants;

however their rights may have been acquired. If the principle were adopted, the rule for Bengal should perhaps be that a revision of rents should not take place oftener than every thirty years, although no revision of the land-revenue is to follow upon it."

This proposal seems to be open to the following, among other objections:—

It would confer fixity of rent in addition to the necessary fixity of tenure for a period that seems unduly long in view of the steady growth of rent, 'the mother of revenue' in India, and of the urgent need to the State exchequer and to the proprietary bodies, of sharing this constant increment. The onus lies on the supporters of the proposal to show that a shorter period will not suffice. So far as I have been able to study the literature of the subject, I have found a remarkable silence as to the experience *in India* of the results of fixity of rent for thirty year periods, and an apparent assumption that the question of such long leases has been settled once for all by Mr. John Stuart Mill's celebrated panegyric on the peasant farmers of France and Belgium. A typical illustration presents itself in a recent eloquent utterance on the necessity of fixing rents for thirty years in Oudh. In his "Garden of India" Mr. H. C. Irwin writes (p. 309):—"Let the peasantry of Oudh, or of any part of India, enjoy for thirty years security of tenure at a fixed rent, without the power to sub-let or mortgage their holdings, and it is hardly too much to predict that the necessity for famine relief will disappear...... This question of land-tenure is more important to the welfare of the cultivator in particular, and the empire in general than irrigation, roads, railways, improved agricultural methods, or any other thing whatsoever. The State cannot hope to do as much *for* the people as it may reasonably count on being able to do *through* them. And not only will what the people can do for themselves if they can get fair play, and if the ordinary motives to exertion are allowed to operate, be far greater in amount than any thing that can possibly be done for them, but it will be more intrinsically valuable, inasmuch as it will not only improve their material condition, but will also tend to raise their character as human beings. There is no question in Oudh of the relative merits of *grande* and *petite culture*, for the sufficient reason that the power cannot be said to exist...... Given, then, *petite culture*, the problem before us is to make the best of it. The agricultural system of Oudh is, speaking broadly, a system of large estates divided into very small farms, occupied by tenants-at-will cultivating with their own stock, and without any security of tenure. Under such conditions *petite culture* never has succeeded, and it may be safely prophesied that it never will succeed. For the one great strong point of *petite culture,* by peasant proprietors, or by rent-paying cultivators secure of their tenure, is the ardour of individual industry with which it inspires the cultivator. It is this which has enabled it to triumph over all the superior advantages of capital and machinery possessed by large farmers. But that ardour of individual industry cannot exist where there is not perfect security that it shall enjoy the fruit of its own labour. This truth has been at last, though inadequately, recognized in Ireland; it is surely time that it began to be recognized in Oudh."

With almost every line in this admirable passage, I cordially agree, except the words 'for thirty years.'

Security of tenure at a Fair Rent, and security of reaping the fruit of his labours, are, without doubt, the paramount wants of the Indian ryot.

But where is the proof that these requirements cannot be met without fixity of rents for thirty years at a time? Where is there any reference to the lessons to be got from Indian experience of the very system advocated? Where is there any demonstration that this part of the Famine Commission's proposals has any warrant in past indigenous custom, or that it will certainly, *in India,* secure the proper protection and improvement of the land, or elevate the ryot to any high condition of comfort and happiness? Such evidence as is at hand, seems to me to point the opposite way.

"The tenure," say the Famine Commission (Report II, p. 3) "of the Government ryot of Southern India is as secure and simple as can well be conceived. He holds his land in proprietary right, subject to the payment of the assessed revenue, which is fixed for a period of thirty years. He has the option of resigning his entire holding or any individual field at the end of the agricultural year. His improvements cannot be made a ground for increasing his assessment at the time of the periodical settlement. He can sell, mortgage, or let his land to any one without requiring the consent of Government, and at his death the land descends to his children according to the rules of inheritance." About three-fourths of Madras is held under this tenure. The number of proprietary ryots is 2,392,064, and they pay an average assessment of sixteen rupees each. One and a quarter million of them (1,251,750) pay an average assessment of only four rupees.—(*Ibid.*)

Here then is the *petite culture,* combined with security of tenure, security of reaping the fruits of labour, and fixity of rents for thirty years at a time, at work, *in India,* on a sufficiently large scale to furnish conclusive data as to its efficacy. It has been at work for more than half a century. Successive improvements have been made in the equitable assessment of the Government demand. In 1837 it was decided that there should be no increase of demand on account of the growth of more valuable kinds of produce. In 1852, that no ryot was to pay a higher rent on account of improvements, made by himself, and causing an increase of value. In 1854, previous assessments having been too high, the revenue, that is the rent demand, was reduced by £259,000. (Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India 1872-73, p. 23).

Various passages in the Commission's Report lead to the belief that the results of this tenure in Madras are disappointing.

The Madras ryot is no exception to the general rule of indebtedness. "We learn," say the Commission (Report II, p. 131) "from evidence collected from all parts of India, that about one-third of the landholding class are deeply and inextricably in debt, and that at least an equal proportion are in debt, though not beyond the power of recovering themselves............. It does not appear that in this respect one province greatly differs from another, but certain localities are, from special circumstances, either above or below the general condition. Thus............ in Madras the ryots of the deltas are in easy circumstances. On the other hand, the precarious outturn of the crops, with other adverse circumstances, has grievously depressed the landholders of the Bombay-Deccan and the adjoining districts of Madras.

In respect of improvements, too, progress seems to have been unsatisfactory. For, in January 1878, the Secretary of State found occasion to ask "whether the practical effect of the tenure which is most prevalent in the Madras Presidency is to disincline the tenant from expending his labour or his money on the excavation of wells." The Commission do not say how the Madras Government answered the question, but remark, not very explicitly, (Report II, p. 112):—"All the information that we have received tends to show that, in lands where the occupants hold of Government under the ryotwari tenure, no such disinclination arises from the cause alleged, but in zemindari estates, where the occupants have not the protection of this tenure, they are represented as being unwilling to sink their money in these investments. Where such unwillingness exists under the ryotwari tenure, it may spring from want of capital, from indifference or want of enterprise, or from doubt as to the profits to be earned by the investment."

The effect of the Madras system on land improvement may perhaps be traced more definitely by examining the extent of irrigation there, of a kind that the ryot can supply, and the present state of the simpler irrigational works. The Commission's information as to irrigated areas in Madras is acknowledged by them to be defective, but their conclusion is (Report II, p. 85), that not more than twenty-five per cent. of the cultivated area under the ryotwari tenure is irrigated. Of this irrigated area about two-sevenths is protected by wells made by the ryots, and is not assessed as irrigated; two-sevenths is protected by Government irrigation works, and about three-sevenths by tanks.

The village tanks (Report II, p. 163) seem to be in a very unsatisfactory state, partly from the neglect of the ryots and the disuse of statute-labour for their repair, and partly from the transfer of the duty of initiating tank repairs from the revenue officers to the Public Works Department. The Commission recommend the immediate revival of the custom of statute-labour and the imposing on the ryots of the obligation of doing the ordinary work necessary to maintain their tanks and channels in proper order.

It will doubtless be urged that these disappointing results are chiefly due to the fact that over the greater part of the area of Madras, artificial irrigation is impossible (*Imperial Gazetteer* IV, p. 122); and that where this impossibility does not exist, over assessments, the free right of transfer, and undue sub-division of holdings have prevented the triumph of the *petite culture.* It must be left to Madras experts to say how far this is the case. Meanwhile those who are without this special knowledge cannot help being struck by the contrast between the excellence of the tenure, as attested by the Famine Commission, and the apparent poorness of the results. If the state of things in Bellary, as described in Mr. H. D. Phillip's "Blacker Pamphlet," is typical of the condition of other Madras districts, then the ryotwari tenure has not had a fair chance, and the Famine Commission have formed a very erroneous impression as to its working in Madras, and in particular, as to the true cause of the failure to improve the land.

This question of ten years or thirty years' leases was carefully examined during the passage of the North-Western Provinces Rent Bill of 1873, through Council. The Bill, as originally drafted, fixed ten years as the period within which a fresh suit for enhancement might not be brought. The Select Committee at first extended the period to thirty years, but afterwards reduced it to ten years.

They said (Further Report, dated 7th October 1873):—

"We have reduced to ten years the time for which the rent of a privileged or of an occupancy tenant may be fixed. This alteration has been made, because the majority of us, having regard to the weighty opinions given in favour of shortening the term, think it the more prudent course." One of these weighty opinions, probably the weightiest of all, was that of the late Lieutenant-Governor, Sir William Muir. At the final debate on the Bill, on 24th November 1873, he said, on this question of ten or thirty years' leases :—

"On this he must distinctly state his belief that such a radical charge in the long subsisting relations of landlords and tenants was not justifiable................ It would have been open to the British Government on its first accession to have laid down the principle, that rent and revenue were to be fixed for coterminous periods. Nay, at a much later period, while the relative rights of landlord and tenant were as yet hardly settled by the administration of a fixed and uniform system, this might have been possible. Forty years ago the proposal was urged by Mr. Robert Merttins Bird, and was then fully discussed by the Government of India and its chief officers, and the conclusion was then deliberately come to that, such a course was inconsistent with the rights of the zemindar and the prevailing condition of the cultivator. That decision might have been right or it might have been wrong; the question was no longer open to discussion. On the decision that rent was liable to enhancement was based the whole revenue system of these provinces. To have now declared rent and revenue to be equally fixed for the same term, would not only have uprooted the revenue system of more than half a century, and created new and unexpected rights, but it would have injured and abated the landed title which had grown up under that system. Properties had passed from hand to hand; estates had been sold both for Government balances and for decrees of Court; rights and expectations had grown up and become matured under the system of a modified power of enhancement to the level of prevailing rates of rent. For a great and imperious political object, indeed, it might have been open to the Government, even at the expense of these expectations, to have attested the system. No legislative enactment had expressly defined the rights of the zemindars in this respect, or limited the power of Government to interfere for the protection of the ryot. But he submitted that no such emergency now existed; and that it would have been in the last degree inexpedient and unwise to have revised the policy on which the relations of proprietor and tenant had now for so long a time adjusted themselves. The term now adopted was that which as shown by the preceding speakers, was also in accord with the existing law, under which the revenue courts could grant a potta to the cultivator for a term of ten years."

(4) *How suspensions and remissions for calamity are to be arranged for.*—It is obvious that there can be no such thing as real fixity of tenure, unless due consideration for calamity is shown in

settling and enforcing the Fair Rent. Drought, or hail, or flood, or locusts may in any year destroy the crop and throw the cultivator into arrears. Unless it can be arranged that in such cases the loss shall not wholly fall upon him, and that reasonable indulgence will be shown, it is idle to talk of security of tenure, or to fancy that the tenant can be as well off as when, under the system of payments in kind, loss was fairly shared between him and his landlord, and rent, so to speak, remitted itself. If it be agreed that the object now is to make the cultivator's tenure as secure as it used to be, then the stupidity must be realized, as well as the injustice, of refusing an indulgence that was a necessary accompaniment of grain-rents, merely because within the last few years money rents have displaced rents in kind. This consideration becomes still more urgent if it is decided that the tenant is to have no power of mortgaging his tenure.

It may at once be admitted that remissions of money rents can never be worked with the simplicity, precision and elasticity that obtain, where rents are taken in kind, from the mere fact of their being so taken. The question is, how nearly can we get back to the benefits of the old system while maintaining the new? The answer may, I think, be found by comparing the method proposed for determining the Fair Rent with the first stage of the conversion of low rents into cash rents. The proposed step backwards in the one case, and the actual step forwards in the other, meet at a point and in a way that seem to suggest what has to be done.

To find the Fair Rent, when in dispute, it has been proposed, first, to ascertain the average produce, that is, the average number of maunds of wheat, or barley, or rice, produced in average seasons by a particular field or holding; next, to ascertain the customary shares in which, if corn-rents had remained in vogue, this produce would have been divided between landlord and tenant; and, lastly, to value the landlord's customary share of the ascertained average produce, at average present prices, and to accept the result as the Fair Rent. This is the proposed step backwards.

The first step forwards in the conversion of a corn-rent into a money one, is the substitution of an *estimate* of the yield for actual weighment, and *the valuation of the landlord's customary share in the estimated yield at the harvest price of the threshing-floor.* "Batai," writes Colonel Macandrew, "is the 'actual division of the garnered crop between landlord and tenant. It is a common form of rent in the province." (Oudh)..." *Kankut* is also a corn-rent, but instead of being a division of the actual crop, the outturn is estimated, while the crop is on the ground by experts some short time before it is ripe, but when it has pretty well declared itself. The additions and deductions are made as in *batai*, and in similar variety, but all the calculations are made on the estimated outturn, and the landlord's share alone is weighed out according to the result....... This mode of reducing the rent is better than *batai*, as it removes the temptation to much cheating...... *Darkatti* is the landlord's *Kankut* valued at the harvest price of the threshing-floor after all the adjustments have been made, and is, consequently, a harvest rent, and is payable in money at this valuation." ("On some Revenue Matters, chiefly in the Province of Oudh," pp. 63—79.)

In other words, *Darkatti* is an estimate of the yield of a particular harvest, and the valuation of the landlord's customary share in that yield at the price of that harvest. What, I ask, is the proposed method of settling the Fair Rent, but the mental application by experts of this very process of *Darkatti* to a sufficient number of harvests and prices to give a true average yield and a true average price?

The inference is patent. To prevent the Fair Rent of average harvests becoming an unfair rent in seasons of calamity, the tenant must be allowed to claim in such seasons a *Kankut* or estimate of yield by the village expert. The difference between the yield so estimated and the average yield as estimated when the Fair Rent was fixed, will give the measure of the difference between the ordinary Fair Rent and the rent proper to the special occasion, and, consequently, the amount to be remitted.

Perhaps it will be objected, that trustworthy experts are not to be found. I reply with the following extract, and ask whether it is likely that an institution which was in full vigour sixty years ago, is likely to be extinct now; and whether, in view of the great extent to which, in many districts, rents in kind survive to the present day, it is at all probable, that demand for this sort of skill would not rapidly develope supply.

On the 20th October 1815, the Collectors of the Ceded and Conquered Provinces were desired "to furnish the fullest and most accurate report" on the following, among other, points:—

Whether the payments of the cultivators were made in kind, or were commuted for money?

What proportion of the crop, or gross produce of the soil, was taken by the landholders in the first case?

Whether such proportion was fixed by custom, by agreement, or by the discretion of the landholder? How the money commutation for the share of the crop was adjusted where a fixed rate might not obtain?

Whether it was done by annual agreement, or by valuation, or at the discretion of the landholders?

In summarising the replies received from fourteen districts, the Board of Commissioners wrote on 5th January 1819:—"It will appear that for the more valuable articles of culture in all the districts, and for every sort of produce in some districts, money rents obtain universally, and that the tenures in kind...... prevail only for the inferior sorts of grain, and in those districts, or those particular pergunnahs where, from the nature of the soil, the want of means for artificial irrigation, and consequent dependence on the uncertainty of seasons, the tenants are not disposed to subject themselves to a certain payment. In tenures of this description the proportion of the crop, whether taken by the landholders in kind, or commuted for its value in money, is regulated by custom, which varies, according to the nature of the soil, from one-fourth and less in lands newly reclaimed, to one-half in lands under full cultivation; and the commutation for money is similarly governed by fixed custom, conformably to which the tenant purchases the landholder's share at a certain rate above the market price, after the produce of the field has been estimated by a regular appraisement on survey. Nothing would appear to be left in these village adjustments to the discretion of the landholder. The survey is superintended by the khumja, or appraiser, who, from long practice, has acquired such an accuracy of judgment as to seldom err to the extent of half a maund in his estimate of the produce of ten beegahs or more, and who, being wholly independent of the landholder, can have no inducement to forfeit this character of accuracy and impartiality, and the price is regulated by the Bunnea, or corn merchant, who, being the general surety of the tenants, and their banker in the requisite advances to them for the payment of their instalments, has a common interest with them in preventing impositions." (Selections from the Revenue Records of the North-West Provinces, 1818—1820, p. 252).

If, then, ordinary fluctuations of outturn are duly allowed for in settling the Fair Rent, and if exceptional calamities are provided for as proposed, we shall probably have restored to the cultivator as much of the old protection in bad seasons as present conditions allow, and as much as is required to give him a Fair Rent in good and bad seasons alike.

Under the head of Fair Dealing with Improvements, the chief points to be settled seem to be these:—

(1). Should any period be fixed, beyond which consideration or compensation for improvements should not be allowed?

(2). What system will secure the maximum outlay of tenant's energy and resources on improvements, with the minimum of friction between tenant and landlord?

(1). *Should any period be fixed, beyond which consideration or compensation for improvements should not be allowed?*

The only true and equitable principle seems to be that, where the tenant is entitled to improve, and has improved, the period during which his right to compensation should be recognised, must be co-extensive with the period during which the increase to letting value, caused by the improvement, continues in an appreciable degree. This principle is followed in the Rent-law of the North-West Provinces, under which the right to compensation only ceases when the improvement is exhausted; the test being that the annual letting value of the land continues, or has ceased to be increased. But in Oudh, where reasonable legislation about rent has still to be achieved, compensation for improvement, even though unexhausted, cannot be claimed after thirty years have passed since the outlay took place. As Mr. Irwin observes:—"Why the limit of thirty years was fixed is not clear. The original phrase employed was 'unexhausted improvements,' which was obviously much more fair. The imposition of a thirty years limit merely postpones for that period the landlord's power of appropriating the fruits of another's labour. As long as the improvements have any appreciable value, so long should the tenant, if ejected, be deemed entitled to compensation for them." (Garden of India, p. 295).

The conjecture may be hazarded that, in the minds of those who were responsible for the Oudh Rent Act (XIX of 1868), there may have been a rather close connexion between the thirty years' period of the State settlements of land-revenue, and the thirty years' period in bar of compensation for improvement. It was perhaps felt that to insist on an indefinite period during which ordinary tenants' claims to compensation for improvements might remain in force, might furnish an inconvenient precedent for the State tenants, the talukdars and zemindars of Oudh,—to plead in respect of their improvements at the next revision of the revenue demand.

No argument seems to be wanted to show that to restrict a tenant's enjoyment of the fruits of his labour and outlay to thirty years is an arbitrary curtailment of his equitable rights.

(2). *What system will secure the maximum outlay of tenant's energy and resources on improvements with the minimum of friction between landlord and tenant?*

The maximum outlay of the tenant's improving power will be obtained when the greatest possible security is given him of permanently enjoying the full fruit of his labours, and the greatest possible facility for saving, or borrowing, the required capital. The minimum of friction will be reached when the respective rights of landlord and tenant as to the making of improvements are equitably defined, and an end is thereby put to the present feeling that one loses when the other improves.

The first of these three requirements will be attained if, at the settlement of the Fair Rent, the increase to average gross produce traceable to an unexhausted improvement made exclusively by the tenant, is deducted from the estimate of gross produce on which the shares and their valuation in money are determined; if a proportionate deduction is made when the tenant has contributed only a portion of the outlay; and if, should ejectment take place, fair compensation be payable for the value of the tenant's share in such unexhausted improvement.

The greatest possible facility for saving, or borrowing, the capital required will be afforded when the tenant obtains fixity of tenure at a Fair Rent, which, being lower than a rack-rent, will leave some margin out of which a thrifty tenant may save; when advances for land improvements are procurable at the lowest rate of interest, for the most convenient periods, and with the greatest simplicity of procedure, that can be afforded or devised; when the cost of production is lowered, and the value of the tenant's share of the produce enhanced, by a general system of State advances at low interest for the cultivation, at first, of such staples only as are best suited for export to foreign markets, but to be extended ultimately to all cultivation by trustworthy tenants; and when State and zemindar, by each undertaking their full share in the enterprise of improving the lands, reduce the bulk and cost of the ryot's share in the enterprise, and so present to him an object for effort within his means and strongly attractive to his self-interest.

In my chapters on 'a larger yield,' 'cheaper production,' and a 'better market,' I hope to show how these things may be done.

In attempting to define equitably the respective rights of landlords and tenants as to improvements, the leading points to be kept in view seem to be these:—The improvement of the land is primarily and preferentially the duty of the rent-receiver, that is, in India, of the State and the zemindar.

Neglect on the part of the rent-receiver to perform this duty confers on the rent-payer the right to perform it instead.

Wherever the rent-receiver, whether State only, as in ryotwari districts, or State and zemindar, as in 'settled' districts, neglects to perform this duty, he throws away an opportunity of developing and insuring his income from the land, and has no just right to complain if the tenant steps in, asserts his right to perform the neglected duty, and reaps the reward.

In the present undeveloped and unprotected condition of the greater part of the cultivated area of India, the State cannot afford to allow any removable obstacles to stand in the way of land improvement.

There is ample scope for the enterprise of State, landlord, and tenant.

The object of the State should be, as a matter of expediency no less than of duty, to work as nearly as possible up to the full measure of its opportunities and powers as chief landlord.

In temporarily settled districts its position, as receiver of half the rental, indicates that it should aim at doing half the work of improvement itself, and at persuading and helping the zemindar first, and, failing him, the tenant, to do the other half. In ryotwari districts, where the State is sole landlord, it should, theoretically, charge itself with the whole work of improvement. If the magnitude of the task makes it impossible to do this, it should at least aim at doing half the work, and securing, consequently, half the profits, and at assisting and persuading the ryots to do the other half.

In permanently settled districts the sphere of this duty of the State is greatly narrowed. The limits marked out by its exclusion from a share in the increased income from improvements seem to comprise such outlay as will protect and insure its land income, and the same efforts to persuade and assist the zemindar and tenant to improve as are proposed to be made in the temporary settled and ryotwari districts.

One great principle must be everywhere preached and everywhere practised, that, whichever of the three, State, landlord, or tenant, improves the land, shall be secured in the full enjoyment of such increase of the produce or rent as is caused by the improvement, *so long as that increase continues to exist*

It should be said, in effect, to every zemindar and ryot in India :—" *Thou shalt eat the labour of thine hands ;* happy shalt thou be, and it shall be well with thee." How to carry out this principle, and the necessity of carrying it out, will be the special subject of the next chapter.

ARTHUR HARINGTON.

ART. VII—SIR THOMAS ROE, AND THE COURT OF JEHANGEER.

I INTEND to sketch briefly the careers of a few of the principal representatives of the Company and of the Crown in the East. I shall try and select them, if possible, as representative characters, and shall commence with Sir Thomas Roe.

Sir Thomas Roe.

The history of Sir Thomas Roe is so well known from his own diary, that the historian or the annalist can scarcely add to the pleasing portrait which he has bequeathed of himself to posterity. He was born at Low Layton in Essex, in the year 1850; was educated at Magdalen College, Oxford, and was knighted in 1604. He embarked on a voyage to America, and, on his return to England, still eagerly desirous of travelling, he accepted the office of Ambassador to the Court of the Great Mogul. Few men could have been better selected for this office than Sir Thomas Roe. To great tact he added diplomatic skill of the highest order. He had early distinguished himself by talents for business and command. He was a model of courtly grace, and in after life he became a judicious patron of arts and letters. He always acted under a strict, uncompromising sense of duty, and his bold bearing and manly demeanour tended to create a stronger impression on the Court of Jehangeer. Unlike the other ambassadors who were admitted to the presence chamber of the Mogul, he was no flatterer. Succeeding such men as Hawkins, Canning, Kerridge, and Edwards, who had not the powers of ambassadors, and who were not distinguished for any diplomatic skill, it was left to Sir Thomas Roe to carry out, through long years of painful suspense and disappointment, negotiations which at last ended in a treaty of alliance between the Mogul Court, and the Company's representatives, a treaty which had for its basis the encouragement and protection of trade then carried on by the factors of Surat. On his arrival at Surat, Sir Thomas Roe was received in open Durbar by the Governor and the native functionaries. On his introduction to the Prince he determined not to imitate the other ambassadors and courtiers, by entering his presence in a crawling attitude.

Sir Thomas Roe, in his own quaint manner, describes his first introduction. "An officer told me, as I approached, that I must touch the ground with my head bare, which I refused, and went on to a place, right under him, railed in, with an ascent of three steps, where I made him reverence, and he bowed his body. So I went within, where were all the great men of the town, with their hands before them like slaves. Having no place assigned, I stood right before him, he refusing to admit me to come up the steps or to allow me a chair." The interview was not prolonged. But Sir Thomas obtained an attentive hearing.

From Surat Sir Thomas and his chaplain proceeded to Berhampore. There he met Parweez, the youngest son of the Emperor. He was gratified with the reception he met with. A hundred native horsemen formed a lane, through which the Ambassador of King James and his suite approached the palace. Parweez is described as being seated within an inner court, surrounded by his nobles and chief officers of State. The Prince was seated on a raised platform or dais, and the conversation carried on during the interview was translated by an interpreter. The platform was covered with a rich canopy of cloth, and carpets were spread on the floor. Such presents as were brought by the Ambassador were received with eagerness, and the interview was brought to an abrupt termination by the Prince becoming intoxicated with the wine with which he was presented by the Ambassador. After visiting the town of Berhampore, the English Ambassador proceeded to join the Court of the Emperor which was then at Ajmere. In October Sir Thomas Roe and his suite were agreeably pleased with the mildness of the climate. Travelling in a strange country, and amongst novel scenes, was interesting. There was a constant change of scene, and in that change there was something of novelty. The mountain passes, and the deep defiles may have reminded him of some of the hill scenery with which his adventures in America had made him familiar, while the bare and barren plains, so admirably adapted for a charge of cavalry, may have suggested to his small train ideas of those immense hordes of Indian cavalry then led by the Mahratta chieftains, and which were so frequently in the habit of scouring those barren tracts on their way to the sack and plunder of defenceless towns. The journey in those days, from one native town to another was very different from what it is now. It then took as long to travel over one hundred miles as it does now to traverse the Peninsula from end to end. Sir Thomas Roe took several months to reach Delhi. It was fortunate for him that at that time the Court of Jehangeer was held at Ajmere. For he could there obtain an interview without first going to Delhi. From Berhampore Sir Thomas Roe proceeded thither. The Emperor was courteous, and received the Ambassador with civility. The Empress Noorjehan might well have been ranked amongst the most celebrated of Indian beauties. She was not less remarkable for her varied accomplishments. She could write poetry, and read and write Persian despatches.

She was a great improvisatrice and charmed alike by her manners and conversation. Her good taste increased the splendour of her husband's court; her economy reduced his expenditure; her tact conciliated some of his worst enemies. The invention of atter of roses is attributed to her. Her consummate ability in statecraft rendered her a fit consort for the Emperor. She loved him to the last, and, when she died, she was buried by his side at her own request at Lahore, although the princely marble mausoleum of the Taj Mehal, built in remembrance of her, still shows the graves inlaid with rich and precious gems and stones, under the vast white marble dome, which, for centuries past, has formed one of the wonders of the world; the spot where the royal consorts were intended to be buried, but where they were not.

When the presents came to be examined Jehangeer did not seem well pleased. He inspected with childish curiosity each article as it was presented, and would have turned from them with an ill-disguised sneer if he had not fancied some English mastiffs' superior in breed to any of the dogs which he was accustomed to see. A carriage made in London also was received with pleasure.

And now an incident occurred which, in the despotic court of the Mogul barbarians, might have terminated fatally for the interests of the East India Company. Among the smaller presents brought by the Ambassador, concealed amongst other articles, was a small picture, in a frame, which was scarcely a gift to be presented to an Emperor. It is quite possible that Sir Thomas Roe, who had not formed an accurate idea of the barbaric pomp and splendour of the court of this sovereign, would have been better pleased to have allowed it to remain undisturbed, but for the childish inquisitiveness of the Emperor himself, who commenced fumbling in the chest, until he drew out this picture. It was intended to represent Venus leading a satyr by the nose. The vanity of the Emperor was wounded. He ascribed a personal motive to the Ambassador in bringing this picture to him. The picture was intended, he said, to be a satire upon himself and his court. He was the satyr and the fair beauty who was leading the satyr captive could not be intended for any one else but the beautiful Noorjehan, his most favored mistress, the light of his harem. If it was not intended as a representation of himself, then the picture was an allegory, symbolical of his people, and of his courtiers. The satyr was painted black; this indicated but too plainly that it was intended for his people; the sensual characteristics, but too coarsely depicted in the treatment of the satyr, and the blind unresisting manner in which he allowed himself to be led, but too clear denoted the great influence of women over men in India. The Emperor's wrath waxed great. He turned to the Ambassador and asked him what he meant by having such a picture in his collection. He savagely interrogated the chaplain; but, as neither Sir Thomas Roe, nor his chaplain could explain any hidden meaning in the picture, he demanded with great anger why they brought him things which they did not understand.

As, however, none of his courtiers could see any meaning in the picture, he allowed his temper to cool down; and Sir Thomas Roe was permitted to depart for the day. But the Emperor was not satisfied, until he was again told by the Ambassador that the picture was not meant as a reflection on him and his Empress. Sir Thomas Roe was soon after invited to some entertainments, when he found that the Emperor was greatly addicted to wine. Indeed, the stronger the wine the better did he appreciate it. The professors of ancient magic found powerful auxiliaries in those exhilarating draughts and narcotic drugs which hold in chains while they derange the intellect of men. Fable points to the Old Man of the Mountain as enchanting and enslaving his youthful followers with intoxicating beverages. Sir Thomas Roe was not long to learn that, if the fickle Emperor was to be won over, it could only be through the medium of presents of costly and untasted wines. Shortly afterwards, writing to the Directors of the East India Company, he thus addressed them, "There is nothing more welcome here, nor did I ever see men so fond of drink as the King and Prince are of red wine, whereof the Governor of Surat sent up some bottles; and the King has ever since solicited for more. I think four or five casks of that wine will be more welcome than the richest jewel in Cheapside.'

Indeed, the Emperor himself confesses that he drank constantly, for nine years, of doubled distilled spirits, fourteen cups in the day, and six cups in the night, which he says were altogether equal to six seers or English quarts. But this monarch also indulged in intoxicating drugs. What the Nepenthé of Homer was to the Greek, what the Potomantis and the Achamenis of Pliny was to the ancient Roman, what the Ophiusia, was to the Ethiopian, what opium is to the Chinese, what the Muchamore is to the savage of Kamktschatka, that and even more was the Hyoscyamus datura to this despotic monarch, ruling over the destinies of nearly two million of human souls. The example set in the court was followed in the city. It was copied largely by the soldiers in camp. Fiction informs us that the waters of Lethe and the intoxicating draughts of Mnemosyne quaffed in the stalactite caverns of Trophonius killed Timochares in three months. The imagination of the poet, could scarcely have found a more potent agency of intoxication, steeping the senses in stupefaction, ultimately ending in physical and intellectual degradation, than in the datura of India.

Sir Thomas Roe was frequently asked to the Emperor's drinking parties. These were attended by the principal favourites at Court, and each drank to outtire the other. The Alikant wine was drunk deeply. But, according to the Ambassador, the Great Mogul used to drink a liquor much more potent still.

Under the influence of this wine he used to cry, or laugh himself to sleep, but if he was reminded of it next day, his revenge on his boon companions evinced itself in a manner perfectly characteristic. He would call for a list of the invited and honoured guests, and would fine them, some one, some two, and some three thousand rupees, and some that were nearer his person he caused to be whipped before him, they receiving a hundred and thirty stripes with a terrible instrument, having, at the end of four cords, irons, like spur rowels, so that every stroke made four wounds. Thus most cruelly mangled and bruised, they were carried out, and one of them died on the spot.

In spite of example so terrible, his principal courtiers nightly encouraged him to drink. Like the Great Mogul, they were all devout Mussulmans. They repeated their prayers five times daily in the open squares and corners of the city. They religiously carried out the precepts of the Koran, in allowing themselves the full complement of wives. But when noon was past, or when the first watch of the night set in, they repaired to the Emperor's nightly symposia, and drank in defiance of the injunctions of the Koran. After several evasions and refusals, Sir Thomas Roe at length accomplished the object of his mission. He obtained an honorable composition for previous losses and extortions, and he also gained permission to establish a factory at Broach. He left, impressed with the dignity of the Emperor and the grandeur of his court, but still more impressed with the despotic sway which he beheld there. Nor could it have been otherwise in an Oriental court. Even the strong mind of Jehangeer was warped by the influences which surrounded him. Nowhere more than in Oriental courts are the intoxicating qualities of absolute power felt, or the poisonous charms and the bewitching voices of insincere flatterers heard. From his first accession to power Jehangeer was taught that the most sacred laws that rule over a people must give place to kings; that a king should be above the laws; that his will should be unfettered; that everything should be sacrified to his Imperial dignity; that the rights of a people should be trampled under foot; that they should be condemned to tears and labor, to confiscation and oppression; that they should be ruled by an iron sceptre; that their rights and liberties should give place to the wishes of the sovereign. Thus led from snare to snare, from abyss to abyss, there was no wonder that the most powerful monarch who sat on the throne of Akbar should have sometimes lost all discernment between virtue and vice, between right and wrong. On arriving at Delhi, then the seat of the Government, Sir Thomas was much pleased with that city. He had ample opportunity, when staying as the guest of the Emperor, of studying it, as well as its architecture. Of the buildings that he saw none struck him so forcibly as the palace. It stood on the west bank of the Jumna, and was more than a mile in circumference. In durability of material, and in architectural appearance it presented an appearance far superior to Windsor. It was surrounded by a deep ditch, the sides of which were flanked with massive granite or red sandstone. Embattled walls of massive granite and limestone, thirty feet high, and loop-holed for cannons, musketry and arrows, looked frowningly down upon the city and the silver street, which in the seventeenth century might have been said to be one of the best built streets in any city in the world. From the embattlements might be seen the turbid waters of the Jumna flowing rapidly below. Looking towards the city might be seen countless minarets, cupolas and domes. In the distance rose a few green hills, the haunts of deer, the Emperor's well kept preserves of game. Against the sky the outline of the palace presented a line of straight embattlements, surmounted by a cluster of white minarets and domes. The fort itself stood upon a spacious esplanade on the west bank of the river.

It was approached through that wide street, still famous for its canal, fringed with green, which was designed by Ali Verdan Khan, whose magnificent aqueduct is still remembered in connexion with his name, and which then conveyed the waters of the Jumna, from their pure fount in the Himalayan range, more than one hundred and twenty miles, to the capital of the Mogul.

Inside the walls of the fort was the hall of audience, built of snow white marble, with a terrace running round it. The walls were frescoed with mosaics, and arabesques, inlaid with marbles of various colors, added to its brilliancy.

Pillars, sculptured in bas-relievo, supported the gilded and fretted roof. At night, when lit up by numerous wax-lights, when the perfume of the atter of roses, mingled with the incense, scented the atmosphere, when innumerable dancing-girls lent a charm to the passing hour, and when pastilles of sandalwood and of the sweet scented grass of Cashmere, smouldering in silver burners arranged along the hall, intoxicated the senses with their perfume, this hall looked its best.

In the centre stood the throne. It rested on a solid marble basis upon a tiger couchant. It was surmounted by a peacock, the beak of which was a large emerald, while the feathers of its breast and tail were ornamented with emeralds and rubies and turquoise. Beyond this throne were chairs of gold filigree work for the princes, and beyond them were carpets placed *à la turque* for the principal courtiers.

On the verge of the carpets sat the secretaries, or munshees, cross-legged, with writing materials before them.

A silk curtain, festooned and drawn across between two pillars, revealed a shifting mass of varied colors beyond, of turbans and jewels of courtiers and armed men between a long vista of marble columns, inscribed with passages of the Koran, shewing, further on, a motley collection of copper colored personages bowing with many a profound salaam as the Emperor entered. His standard bearer was an Afghan.

The Afghan courtier was a favourite of the Emperor's. He was tall and muscular. His complexion was a dark olive. His nose was aquiline, his eyes black and glittering. He wore a magnificent black beard. His general appearance, while it was of a strong, muscular physical development, indicated also a strange absence of activity. In years past he had been bred up to the desert; and although he was now received at court, and sat amongst the big turbaned and gaily dressed courtiers of the Mogul, the slovenliness of his dress betrayed the child of the desert. His turban was of a bright blue check, with a gold fringe, but he wore it as Arabs wear their turbans—loosely and inelegantly tied.

His costume consisted of a loose blouse with loose sleeves, and wide trowsers, worn according to the Arab fashion, and was remarkable for elegance and cleanness. Over his shoulder he wore a bright red cashmere shawl, and in his hand were always to be seen an Afghan knife and a silver mounted dagger. Compared with the Hindoo and Musulman courtiers, his bearing was dignified and grave, while his blunt and large features were expressive of frankness. The standard embroidered with gold, which, like the oriflamme of St. Denis, was only unfurled when the king took the field, was held by him near the throne.

But if Sir Thomas admired the Afghan standard bearer, he had reason to dislike Mocrib Khan the rooted enemy of England, and Asof Khan, who had succeeded as Prime Minister. But for the opposition he met with from them, he would have obtained, without much difficulty, all he had sought from the inconstant Prince who then reigned. That he was ultimately successful, was due to his tact and to his perseverance. The firman which he at last got, was accompanied by a courteous letter addressed to the King of England.

Sir Thomas has left a pleasant memoir of the court and camp of the Emperor; how he spent his whole life in public, how in the morning it was his wont to come before an open window or a balcony, and exhibit himself to the crowd that daily assembled to see him, how at noon he used to return to the same balcony to be entertained with combats of wild beasts; how in the afternoon he used to seat himself in durbar in the hall of audience for all who presented themselves on business; how in the evening his wont was again to appear in an open court called the Guzel Khan, where he spent the time in gay and familiar conversation with his favorites; how he used to give publicity to all his proceedings and ordinances, acts and edicts, by having them daily written down and allowing them to be perused by the public, how on the royal weighing-day the Emperor's person, arrayed in full pomp, was weighted first against rupees, then against gold and jewels, next against rich cloth and spices, and lastly against corn, meat and butter, and how on his birthdays he used to scatter rubies, and gold and silver almonds, to be scrambled for by his courtiers.

Sir Thomas Roe remained four years at the court of the Emperor Jehangeer. During his residence in the East he made some valuable collections of ancient manuscripts, among the most interesting of which was the Alexandrian M.S.S. of the New Testament. Some of the more valuable of his collections may still be seen at the Bodleian Library. He obtained a ratification of the treaty, by which was conceded to the English nation the right to establish factories on the western coast of India and to trade with any part of the Bengal Empire, Surat and Bengal especially.

G. W. Cline., L.L.D., F.G.S.

ART. VIII.—SOCIAL LIFE IN BENGAL FIFTY YEARS AGO, BY AN OLD INDIAN.

(*Continued from "Calcutta Review," October* 1881.)

III.—At Play and in Sport.

NO view of the times of which we write would be complete without a glance at the amusements and sports which diverted the bygone people. These amusements and sports were entered into most heartily by them, and sometimes took up, as will be seen, several days, and even weeks, to the exclusion of all but the most pressing business. On such occasions everything had to give way to them. Cutcherries were practically closed, country-produce neglected, and factories left to the care of *gomastahs.* Not only did these sports and amusements lend a healthier hue to the face, activity to the frame, and strength to the muscle, but they brought together in the happiest possible way the entire body of Europeans of a district, and sometimes of more districts than one, and imparted a healthier tone to the mind for business itself. Our fathers did not believe in the present motto of "all work and no play," but they believed in a due admixture of both. Just as the schoolboy looks forward to his holiday, and makes the most of it when it comes; so these early Anglo-Indians regarded and used their sports and pastimes, their tiger, buffalo, and pig hunts, their races, and their balls. On grand occasions, the invitations went out far and wide months beforehand, and, a week or so before the event, people began to assemble, and new or unaccustomed faces, often familiar and friendly ones, began to be seen.

Tiger and other hunts.

To hunt and shoot the tiger, to destroy the great Bengal scourge and terror, was the most respectable, as it was the most dangerous but one (the buffalo) sport. It presented all the features and afforded all the enjoyment of a prolonged rural picnic, especially to the non-combatants—for often there were ladies included in the party, especially on the grand occasions. There were ladies then willing to incur all the hardships of a campaign against tigers without the danger of actually going out to shoot them. The actual shooting and chances of being mauled by a brute were of course reserved for the older and younger Nimrods. From bagging birds, deer-shooting, buffalo-hunting, and pig-sticking, to be described further on, ladies were, of course, always absent, as these sports afforded none of the features of a picnic, and were generally undertaken either singly or in small parties. Hunting the bear and other mountain animals, on or near the snowy range, was not known in those days, and, indeed, we had then no Himalayan country, except a very small part of Kumaon to call our own. Tiger-hunting used to be either a hurried incident, or a grand prolonged amusement. The former may be dismissed in a few words. If one of the brutes was reported to be particularly near at hand, or accessible, any "pale-faced" warrior who happened to be the first to get the news, furbished up his "Joe Manton," ("Manton" was great in sporting circles in those days, and "Westley Richards" was only beginning to acquire that reputation which is still so justly great, while there were no breech-loaders), improvised an elephant from some corner—and elephants were more common in those times in private and native hands—and started for the spot. Sometimes he proved successful, sometimes unsuccessful; but we can hardly recollect an instance in which he paid the penalty of his life. If he succeeded in disposing of the "*bágh*," he never ceased, if he was a very young hand, to bring up all the thrilling incidents connected with the occasion, sometimes with extraordinary additions arising from a liberal imagination or a love of the marvellous, for at least a year after. If alone, he certainly had more genuine sport than if one of a large party. If there was no elephant near at hand, or the tiger could not be more openly secured, he had recourse to the *machan*, or elevated seat in a tree near the observed haunt of the brute. There the ardent hunter sat, or lay, with rifles, guns, ammunition, and provender stores, till he secured the animal. In our opinion much of the early prestige of Englishmen in India was owing, not so much to their fair complexions and strange dress and manners, as to their following this and other very dangerous sport. The natives, Mahomedans and Hindus alike, were accustomed to look on the tiger as a dreaded monster, and the latter even regarded him as divine! To see these ruddy, white-faced foreigners, even the youngest of them, going forth often single-handed to deal with such a brute, and regarding it in the light of a sport, or *tumasha*, struck them with amazement. They could not explain it, except on the supposition that Englishmen were something super-human. These single hunts after tigers have very much dropped off now, and we often, too, hear of accidents. Not only have settlement and cultivation extended greatly, but the princely planter race has disappeared; the assistants at such factories as are left are of a different breed; the civilians, too, have fallen off in this respect—

bound in the trammels of red-tape they cannot help it—and tigers, too, have retreated.

The tiger had his well-known districts, where he had lived for generations with wife, family, and numerous feline congeners. In some parts he was as numerous as bees in a hive. One of the greatest of spring weather enjoyments was to look forward to the annual tiger-shooting excursion. The chiefs of the party were the Sudder planter, who came in for the lion's share of the cost, the Commissioner of the District or Division, and occasionally the Colonel of the regiment. Round these redoubted leaders, their younger fellows, assistants and subordinates, ranged themselves, with not seldom visitors from distant places, even as far as Calcutta. Most of the details as regards the numerical strength of the party, the ladies composing the same, the route, the modes of transmission, the dates of the start and assemblage, the number of elephants, and the scene of operations, used to be fixed long beforehand in consultation, during morning or evening walks and rides, by the chiefs. Generally the planter, as well as providing elephants, had to put every thing in right train. The Commissariat was under the charge of one; the arms and ammunition of another (though every one looked after this particular himself, with the aid of his "bearer" and chupprassee); a Quartermaster General was appointed, and tents of the most comfortable and even luxurious dimensions and makes were forthcoming; the ladies who were to accompany the party and keep it in perfect good humour throughout, were known, and everything went "as merry as a marriage bell." Especially did new-comers enjoy the prospect in anticipation. In these tiger hunts, both before and while they lasted, there was enough of both novelty and anticipation, and thus there were all the elements of pleasure. There was an entire cessation and relief from work. The change from the monotony of station life was in itself very great. Every day the same old roads and rides, and the same faces, though there was no such thing as *ennui* in those days in India, gave way to new country, prolonged elephant rides, and a mode of life less artificial than ordinary in its simplicity and freedom. The weather, too, at such seasons used to be all that could be wished. There was no fatigue in exertion, and no danger of sunstroke. The mode of life in tents was one that even the dweller in a palace might envy. Large in dimensions, often with several rooms, and even verandahs and a bathroom; comfortably furnished with camp-cots, chairs, tables and *teepoys*, and perhaps with some of Dickens's or Lever's earlier works, then just coming out, and numbers of *Punch*; laid down with thick carpets or sutringees; they left little further to be desired in the way of accommodation. The discussion of the events of the day on further plans of the campaign of an evening round the dinner table, with playing of draughts and chess, and smoking without, were also so many things thrown in extra. Up early in the morning, before even cock-crow, shaved (there was much shaving in those days), bathed and dressed, a substantial breakfast followed. Guns and arms were then brought out, elephants were saddled, and chupprassees ran about hither and thither. At daylight the party were all off, leaving the tents in charge of the ladies, the servants, and the camp-followers. On occasions ladies were not slow to get on the elephants, too, and go through the entire day's hunt. Generally more than one got on one elephant, and the peon occupied the back seat of the *howdah*, with ammunition and provender stores. Guns and rifles stood handy in front. The *mahout* then urged the elephant, and the party went off in different directions, some keeping together, and some getting away, nearly every white face covered with a broad sola hat. When a tiger was sighted, generally the most experienced hand present took the first shot. Sometimes at very close quarters the tiger made a bound on to the head of the elephant and succeeded in planting his claws in the trunk or the head. The elephant, however, knew how to receive the rush and charge of the tiger, so as to fling him off or place him at a disadvantage, so as to be quickly shot down from the party perched above, or himself succeeded in so mauling and stamping the life out of the tiger that there was little left of him to shoot. When, however, the elephant was new to the sport, and the tiger succeeded in getting on to his head, not only the life of the *mahout*, but of those on the howdah, stood in considerable jeopardy, for he would become either ungovernable in his efforts to get rid of his enemy, or start off at a furious pace through the jungle, where often the branches of trees stood in the way of the riders, and this even after the tiger had been got rid of. Sometimes the *mahout* had to use his heavy iron prod to bang the tiger off the elephant's head and his own person. On very rare occasions was the *mahout* himself pulled off by the tiger; and on still rarer occasions did the tiger succeed, by a well-directed leap, in planting himself either right in front or in the midst of the group on the top, or in climbing up, when, if he did not instantly meet with his quietus by a well aimed ball or two, the situation was one of extreme peril. Very seldom, however, has any rider or *mahout* been ever seriously hurt or killed. The old and experienced civilian, or planter, *shikari* remained quite cool in the presence and midst of the greatest danger, and often preferred to deal with the tiger at close quarters.

As the day wore on and the sun grew hotter, the party returned to quarters, and after a good bath, betook themselves to a substantial tiffin, and thereafter there was rest and recreation for all except the cooks till the grand reunion at dinner in the evening, followed by the usual social chit-chat, &c. Dead tigers used generally to be skinned, and the skin alone preserved by its destroyer as a trophy, the bullet marks being faithfully shown on these skins many years after. When the hunt was over, the tents, &c., were struck and packed up, and the route back was the order. Returned to the station, every one lived on the exploits and incidents of the hunt till the next great occasion came on.

Buffalo-Hunting.

This was probably the most dangerous of all the sports, was not often followed, and has now, we believe, quite died out. Large parties were not made up to kill a buffalo, and only men of the coolest nerve, or rather reckless of life, went at this game. A herd of wild buffaloes being sighted quietly feeding in an open, or on the brink of a river, under the lead of a grand male, they were approached on horse back as noiselessly as possible and to as convenient a proximity as the nature of the ground and cover admitted, when aim was taken at a vital part, and the shot which rang out was either the death-knell of the beast, or the signal to remember the old adage that "discretion is the better part of valour." Sometimes, however a second shot quickly followed the first, and proved effectual. But if not, the male at once charged his enemy with his enormous horns, while the females scampered away in a body. Being on horseback, the daring sportsman had to keep much to the open, and, unless the horse was so fleet as to leave his pursuer far behind, or the career of the latter was cut short by his strength failing from loss of blood, or by a shot from another sportsman; or if the nature of the ground afforded a dextrous retreat, the hunter became the hunted, and a scene ensued which would be laugh inspiring were it not one that involved his very life. Making a rapid mental calculation how many minutes more and his mortal enemy would be down on him, with the bearing and position of trees, he had quickly to rein in and get off his horse, and make for the nearest tree, and climb it. The buffalo, however, would not be thus baulked of his revenge. After a moment's stop in his gallop, to take in the transaction which had just passed before him, he would madly tilt up to the tree, toss about his horns, snort, and look up, and show every sign of ungovernable rage and fury. In a case that occurs to us the single hunter was besieged up in a tree by a determined buffalo for a day and a night. The infuriated beast every now and then looked up (the hunted hunter looking down on him and grimly holding on), and then charged the tree. At length, thoroughly tired out, the beast left the next morning, after making one more final charge. When he saw the coast quite clear, the hunter dismounted, laid hold of his horse, which had not wandered away, and galloped home. His *cara sposa*, for he was married, never allowed him to go after a buffalo again. The horns of the animal formed the hunter's trophy after a successful venture, and we have seen some horns the size of which will hardly be credited.

Pig Sticking.

Pig Sticking was probably the most exciting, if not the most dangerous, kind of sport in those days. It was pursued on horseback, and with loaded spears, and sometimes used to be attended with accidents. It required a good rider, a strong arm, and a good steady aim with the spear, and was generally preferred by the younger members of the sporting community, principally the planter's assistants, to any other sport. A number of native-made spears, with handles from five to six or seven feet long, of young tough bamboo, and heavily loaded at the top, as a balance and to drive home the thrust, were always kept ready. Sharp and bright, they were formidable weapons, and used sometimes to be brought into play in the local land-fights, or fights regarding land with neighbouring zemindars. When such a spear was driven in, or delivered with full force, by a powerful arm, into a vital part, while riding past the hunted boar, the beast was generally placed *hors de combat*. There used to be more than one generally engaged in a pig-sticking match. The hunt having been determined on, the riders set out each with several spears, and with such dogs as could be mustered. When the wild boar had been roused, the riders went after him, and on riding past him, digged into him with the spear. When he was thus wounded, the dogs generally fastened on to him, and ended him. But it was not always such an easy matter to deal with him. Often the first thrust only served to infuriate him, and, if the rider was not particularly quick and active in eluding him, he made an infuriated rush, which, unless checked by another well-planted thrust, usually ended in the horse's foot or side being ripped up, and horse and rider both brought down to the ground. The rider then had to save his own skin and on foot. A few dogs at such a time proved invaluable auxiliaries, though many a fine animal has met his death wound from a wounded boar. The enormous curved tusk, pointed and sharp, would do its work most effectually wherever it was brought to bear, and the short powerful neck of the boar would work with a will, the little eyes shooting out unmitigated wrath. Just as in tiger-hunts, the skin of the brute rewarded the Anglo-Indian Nimrod, so here the tusks constituted his trophy. Pig-sticking was the occasion of many a reunion of bachelor planters and their assistants.

Deer-shooting.

The Deer, it may be observed, is a far more graceful and harmless animal than any previously mentioned, and yet its shooting sometimes was not quite easy, and sometimes even dangerous. Deer may be found of various kinds and different sizes in many parts. Two varieties however—a small, and a very large one—are, or were, to be met with in Bengal, the larger variety being rarer often in woods and jungles ; they may be found at early dawn, coming down to the bank of a river to drink. Their peculiar cry or call, too, cannot be mistaken. The sportsman had to rise very early for this sport, long before day-break, and clad in a real hunting suit, get to the deer haunts, and stalk along till he got his game down. Deer are not found many together, and a fine branching male, which can furnish a trophy in a good pair of horns, is not usually met with, and is therefore reckoned a prize. There is much gentle excitement in deer-shooting, and little danger to life or limb, unless the animal bears down on you and knocks you over with his horns, before he falls over himself. Unlike tiger, and other wild animals which are hunted, the flesh of the deer appears afterwards on the table, and a "haunch of venison" (though not "prime") was no rarity on many an Indian table in the times of which we write. Most of the leading houses in those times could show numerous hunting trophies of deers' antlers, boar's tusks, buffalo horns, and tiger and leopard skins. Such trophies of sport and prowess are seldom now seen in the mofussil, unless as remnants of a bygone age.

India teems with birds affording excellent eating. The larger swamps and morasses, away from towns sometimes abound with them ;—partridge, quail, water-hens, pheasant, plover, wild duck, flamingoes, and a variety of other migratory birds. The sky used to be streaked with long lines of these migratory birds, pursuing their flight from morning till evening, often for weeks together. They often settled on the banks of swamps, and thus afforded sport. Water dogs were necessary in such bird-sport, and a good deal of wading in water had sometimes to be gone through. The sportsman, fortified with an early substantial breakfast, with a powder and a spirit flask slung over his shoulders, the former handy, and shot belt either round his waist, or also over his shoulder, with caps, wadding, and other necessaries, shouldered his favourite "Joe Manton" or "Westley Richards," and, calling his dogs, sallied forth, sometimes by himself, sometimes with a companion, and generally returned with a very good bag.

The Races.

The races, how well we remember them! They were not the humdrum, matter-of-course, soulless, occurrences, that we have seen obtaining at a later day. With changes in other things, in the very constitution and material of European society, it cannot be expected that racing alone should have remained unaffected. The real enjoyment of racing, like that of sporting, is a thing of the past and "Ichabod" is written over most of the old race-courses of Bengal. Here, too, it was the independent element in the European community who set the example and led the way in this fine old English sport. They had the finest animals, often Arabs of high breed and value, and the other concomitants essential to success, such as spirit, cash, &c., though they were always ably seconded by the civilian element. Civilians, however, seldom possessed good horses, perhaps not deeming it worth their while to own them when they might be removed far away, and still oftener lacking the means. Yet there were several bright exceptions. The race-course of the station ran round a splendid, parklike plain, a couple of miles out of town, in the centre of which there were some Hindu temples surrounded by a clump of trees, and also a slight elevation. In length, the course was nearly two miles; and the stand was situated at the entrance to the grounds from the town side; near the stand were the weighing ground, &c. The hot weather being unfavorable to both man and horse for racing, it came off always in the cold season, and, as Scotchmen predominated, on the week following New Year's day in January. This was the "race week," and used to be the most stirring, and generally most important in the whole year. Balls preceded and followed it. For months preceding the races formed a principal subject of conversation, meetings came off at which racing matters were discussed, and preliminaries arranged and fixed on. Races were chosen, and events determined, and training began early. Stewards, &c., were appointed, and wealthy natives induced to join by high example and persuasion. In some cases these natives acquired in this way a familiarity with free and easy English manners and ways which stood them in good stead in after life.

During the eventful week, the stand, which was usually deserted, had chairs placed in it; temporary stables were run up near it, for the accommodation of the racers; the weighing ground was enclosed, and coffee-stalls, where a thriving business used to be done every morning at four annas a cup, were put up and supplied with the materials of early refreshments by private contractors. The last event at the close of the week was, generally, a hurdle race, in which the more adventurous spirits used to contend, and which sometimes terminated with one or more falls, and sometimes with a serious accident. The more weighty events of the previous days used to be varied with such light things as a hack race of native tats ridden by their owners, generally the most strikingly comical of all the races. To see these tats, sometimes as lean as Don Quixote's Rosinante, and ridden often by native lads who had to hold on with both hands, furnished a great deal of laughter. There used to be also *cheroot* races, in which the successful rider had to bring in a lighted cheroot at the end; and races in which the winner was he who arrived the last! Professional European jockeys rode in the principal events.

Balls.

Many opportunities were made or found for balls, dinner parties, and other such festive occasions. Dinners and bachelors' lunches have been described in another place, as well as the major picnic excursions which came off under the pretext of tiger shooting. The minor picnics generally restricted themselves to a few ladies and gentlemen, and sometimes younger folk, who spent the day in some freedom at one or other of the ruins or picturesque spots which for more than a mile surrounded the old native city. There were the annual station ball, the Christmas ball, the race ball, the military and civilian balls, the planters' ball, and other balls. The annual ball used to be by general subscription, for the expenses for a champagne supper were considerable in those days. The Christmas ball sometimes used to be merged into the annual station ball, and sometimes not, especially when there were a number of new ladies present. The race ball, given by the Race Committee, came off after the race week, and generally commanded the largest attendance. The planters' ball, given by one or more planters, happened either before or after the indigo season. These were all occasions when all the out stations were represented. The civilian and military balls were given by the civilians and the military, who, in this respect, with the planters, fought a triangular festive combat. There was no Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal then, but subsequently, when he appeared on the scene, whenever he happened to arrive at the station, about once every two years or so, a ball was got up in his honor by the principal residents.

At these balls, of course, only the Upper Ten, the three "sets," figured. Ladies, being few, used to be got from very great distances, and were generally found to make the sacrifice. The stately quadrille, the gay waltzes, and country dances, were in vogue in those days, and no one had even heard of a polka. At about 8 or 9 P.M. the ball opened; at about 11 or 11½ P.M. there was the adjournment to the supper. When it was over, generally in about an hour, dancing was resumed to the strains of the military band, lent for the occasion by the Colonel, and continued by the more youthful members of the party to the small hours of the morning.

Conclusion.

We have taken a glance at the days gone by and contrasted them with the present, what is most marked in these degenerate times is the loss of individual freedom and play. Everything is set hard and fast within rules and red-tape. The man who would do anything must go out of the service to do it,—nay, the influence of a degenerate age follows him even there, and checks and hinders all free growth. Men are being dwarfed down like Japanese plants, all round, or are being born dwarfed. What will be the end of the present state of things in—say, a century? Shall we attempt a prediction from what we see around us? The natives will simply rise to a level with the Europeans, the latter dwarfed and restricted, the former puffed out and swollen; power and rule will then come to be almost evenly divided between the black and the white "brothers,"—and the natural result of the vast numerical superiority of the former will be seen in their entirely displacing the latter. Our Empire in the East will then have departed. First we were unjust to our own poorer Europeans and East Indians, regarding them as lower than the Hindus and Mahomedans. Next we forced on the natives the merest externals of an education and a civilisation which no Oriental people will ever accept in its essence and entirety,—not even the Parsees and Jews who are the most progressive of the races of Asia, much less the Hindus and Mahomedans. Who but a mad man can ever hope to make Englishmen of such materials? And now, the natural result is that the native mind has lost that reverence and respect for us, as for a superior race, which has been the "divinity which hedged us in" so long. The breaking out into external manifestations of the changes going on within, cannot be very far off.

THE QUARTER.

THE capture of Kandahar was followed on the 4th October by that of Herat, after a battle outside the city in which Ayub's forces were totally defeated. Ayub himself is officially reported to have taken refuge in Persian territory, and active opposition to the Ameer's authority appears to have almost entirely subsided.

The cessation of anxiety on account of the affairs of Afghanistan has left the Government of India free to devote all its energies to questions of domestic policy, and the past three months have witnessed distinct and detailed pronouncements of Lord Ripon's views in almost every branch of the administration. The financial, the educational, the municipal, and the agricultural policy of the Government have all formed the subjects of separate minutes, the views enunciated displaying, in each case, a marked advance. The impression that had grown up during the earlier days of the new regime, that *quieta non movere* was to be its guiding principle, and that the policy of masterly inactivity was to be extended from foreign to domestic affairs, has been succeeded by a doubt whether it is not embarking in too multifarious, if not too ambitious, a programme.

If, however, the various minutes that have been recorded on the great questions it has determined to take in hand, are examined, it will be found that in no case is there any indication of either innovation or precipitancy. The policy to be pursued is in every instance a development of established principles, and for the most part, of principles that have already been proved in practice and endorsed by the verdict of public opinion.

To take the financial policy embodied in the minute of September last. The measures of decentralisation comprised in it are simply an extension of the scheme tentatively initiated by Lord Mayo in 1870.

Under Lord Mayo's scheme the local Governments had certain heads of expenditure made over to them, along with the corresponding receipts and a fixed subsidy estimated to cover the difference between the two. Any surplus that might arise was to be at their disposal, while, on the other hand, they were to make good any deficit. This scheme was extended in 1877 as regards all the Governments except that of Madras, by assigning to them certain additional heads of income along with the responsibility for local and provincial works. The agreements under which these arrangements were made, have either expired, or would have expired in the current year. Under the new arrangement, which is to come into force throughout the country from the commencement of the financial year 1882-83, the system of fixed subsidies will cease, and in its stead each province will have made over to it a certain proportion of the land revenue collected within its limits. At the same time all but a few heads of expenditure and revenue, are to be made over either wholly or in part to the local Governments. A further change is that, whereas, under the previous arrangements, the Supreme Government reserved to itself the right to modify its grants in case of severe fiscal pressure, such as might arise from a failure of the opium revenue, war or famine, it has now pledged itself to make no call on the local Governments except in the case of disaster so abnormal as to exhaust the Imperial reserves and resources, and necessitate a suspension of the entire machinery of public improvement throughout the empire. At the same time the local Governments will be bound, on their side, to meet their own famine requirements, within certain limits determined by the extent of their resources. Provincial resources, runs the Resolution, "consist of (1) current income during the period of distress; (2) accumulated savings of past years, in excess of the ordinary 'working balance'; and (3) the margin of provincialised income over expenditure in normal years, which is the Provincial Government's profit on the contract available for public improvements. Upon these, provincial responsibility will be enforced in proportion to their nature. The first should be entirely exhausted, every avoidable expense in every department being retrenched, and the Public Works grants being applied to famine works to the very utmost possible. The second should be drawn upon to two-thirds only of their total amount. The third will, in the first place, be made liable to whatever extent may be necessary, in addition to the ordinary Public Works grants, for the completion of works begun as relief works under the pressure of famine. In cases where no such need for completion remains after a famine, this third resource will be chargeable up to one-fourth, at most, for payment of interest of Imperial loans (if any) which have been raised to meet the excess cost of that famine in the Province."

In the years 1879-80, and 1880-81 the local Governments were called upon to contribute £670,000 in the aggregate towards the cost of the Afghan war, and this sum the Supreme Government promises, in the event of a sufficient surplus accruing in the current year, to re-imburse. The advantage of the new system is that, on the one hand, the local Governments will be as far as possible relieved from all uncertainty about their future resources, while, on the other, they will acquire a direct interest in the most important item of imperial revenue collected by them.

Constantaneously with these important changes the local Governments are exhorted to follow the example of decentralisation thus set them and inaugurate more liberal systems of self-government by making over to properly constituted local agencies a considerable portion of the provincial revenues, to be expended on such branches of administration as may be most conveniently entrusted to their control. With this view they are invited "to undertake a careful scrutiny of Provincial, Local, and Municipal accounts, with the view of ascertaining (1) what items of receipt and charge can be transferred from 'Provincial' to 'Local' heads, for administration by Committees comprising non-official, and wherever possible, elected members, and what items already 'Local' but not so administered, might suitably be so; (2) what redistribution of items is desirable in order to lay on Local and Municipal bodies those which are best understood and appreciated by the people; (3) what measures, legislative or otherwise, are necessary to ensure more local self-government. Incidentally to the scrutiny they will probably notice, and might carefully consider, (4), ways of equalizing local and municipal taxation throughout the Empire, checking severe or unsuitable imposts, and favouring forms most in accordance with popular opinion or sentiment."

The views of the Government of India regarding Municipal Government have found further expression in a letter to the Government of Bengal according sanction to the bill to amend the Calcutta Municipal Consolidation Act, and in more than one of the addresses delivered by the Viceroy to Municipal bodies during his late tour in Upper India. The tendency of these views is towards the extension to Municipalities in practice of the fullest liberty of action or in action compatible with the law, except in those extreme cases in which public interests of paramount importance would suffer seriously from non-interference. Hitherto the practice has been to let Municipalities have their own way only where the Local Government feels little or no interest in their decisions; in all other cases either official pressure has been brought to bear to secure a favourable vote, or the Municipal Commissioners have been given plainly to understand that an adverse vote would be followed by Government intervention.

The main occasion of this declaration of the Government of India in favour of a more tolerant and liberal course of action has been the inclusion in the Calcutta Act, already referred to, of a provision enabling the local Government to compel the Municipality to extend the water supply to certain portions of the Suburbs. While assenting to the Bill, the Viceroy, remarks on this point that it is not without hesitation that he "accords his consent to an enactment which interferes, even upon justifiable grounds, with the free action of the Municipality of Calcutta in a matter properly falling within its legitimate functions. Having regard to the great importance attaching to the development of municipal and other similar institutions in India, it appears to the Governor-General most desirable to avoid, as far as possible, taking any step which may have the appearance of arresting the growth of such institutions, or of unduly restricting their liberty of action. In making these remarks, he is not forgetful of the fact that municipal bodies may not always arrive at correct conclusions, and that their mode of transacting business may at times delay the prompt execution of important measures of local improvement. Proceedings of this kind naturally have the effect of dissatisfying the Executive Government, on which rests the ultimate responsibility of providing for the legitimate wants of the people, and which therefore may reasonably feel itself impelled to interpose for the purpose of forcing the municipal authorities concerned to recognise, and act up to, their proper obligations. Such interference is doubtless in some cases unavoidable; but it is none the less desirable that, in dealing with the shortcomings of local representative bodies, all possible patience and forbearance should be shown. It must be remembered that the introduction of municipal institutions into India is only of comparatively recent date, and that, even in England, where such institutions are of long growth, and are consonant with the habits of the people, many instances might be adduced from the records of Town Councils and other local bodies, not only in the past, but also in the present day, of proceedings little, if at all, less open to criticism than the most noticeable of the cases which have given ground for complaint in this country.

But although in the opinion of the Governor-General municipal and other local bodies in India have exceptional claims to be treated with patience and consideration, he does not wish to imply that there should be no limit to the extent to which such bodies should be allowed to abuse their powers, or neglect their duties; and he readily admits that the case of a large city, such as Calcutta, which is surrounded by important suburbs under separate municipal management, is one which, as has been shown by experience in England, is especially difficult to deal with, and in which therefore legislative interference may at times be not only warrantable, but indispensable. His Excellency does not desire to enter into the discussions which have taken place regarding the water-supply of Calcutta and the Suburbs, nor does he wish his action in assenting to the present Bill to be interpreted as condemnatory of the views of those gentlemen who opposed it. He thinks it sufficient to say that, after a careful consideration of all the circumstances, it seems to him clear that the water required for the wants of the Town and Suburbs should be supplied from the same source, and managed on the same system. In order to carry out such a scheme, however, the conflicting interests of the separate municipal bodies concerned must be reconciled, and the plan of placing the Government of Bengal in the position of an arbitrator in the matter of water-supply between the Town of Calcutta and the Suburbs seems both a reasonable and convenient one. At the same time the Governor-General is decidedly of opinion—and he trusts that this opinion will be shared by His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor—that the local Government should refrain from exercising the powers conferred by section 15 of the Bill, unless it should be clearly shown that a satisfactory arrangement for the joint water-supply of the Town and Suburbs cannot be otherwise secured. It should also be clearly understood that the burdens of the Calcutta rate-payers are not to be increased owing to the extension of the water-system to any of the environs of the Town."

There is much to be said in favour of this policy. The very basis of self-government is liberty of action, and any limitation of that liberty should apply, not to the choice to be made, but to the subject matter in respect of which the option is granted. To give men the power of voting for or against a certain course of action, and at the same time to put pressure on them to vote one way or the other, is scarcely calculated to develop in them a sense either of their own responsibility, or of respect for the honesty of their rulers.

In his speech to the Municipal Committee at Delhi, the Viceroy spoke at length on the same topic and in a similar spirit. "I am very well aware," he said, "that such a work as that of developing self-government in a country like this must necessarily be a gradual work; that it must be carried out in one way in one part of this great Peninsula, and in another way in another;—that one portion of the country may be more fit for the wide application of the principles of self-government than another; but the object of that resolution was to call public and official attention to the great importance of the principle itself, and to mark emphatically the desire of the Government that every effort should be made to afford it all that development and extension which the special circumstances of each locality might render possible. I look upon the extension of self-government as the best means at the disposal of the Government of India at the present time for promoting and extending the political education of the people of this country. I have no doubt that there are in India, just as there are in England, municipal bodies that are not always wise, that are sometimes found to obstruct measures of importance, and possibly, even seriously, to neglect their duties. I very well recollect, a good many years ago, the late Lord Palmerston, who, as you know, was a great English minister, telling the House of Commons, when he was advocating sanitary reform, that there was always in every town in England a clean party and a dirty party—a party that was in favour of a good water-supply and good drainage, and a party opposed to measures of that kind. I have not the least doubt that there is a clean party and a dirty party in the towns and cities of India, and I can quite understand that to men zealous for improvement, it may often be trying to see important schemes calculated to confer great benefits on a large community postponed, or marred, or laid aside, from ignorance, or apathy, or indifference. But I may venture to say to those who may be not unnaturally impatient at such untoward occurrences, that they should not let their impatience run away with them to the extent of allowing them to obstruct or abandon the principle of self-government. Patience is necessary in the beginning of all things; it is necessary in the conduct of all public affairs, especially where a more or less numerous body of men have been brought together, and I would ask those whose favourite schemes may be thwarted or opposed, to remember that the establishment, development, and practical working of self-government is in itself a great benefit to the country; that it is not only an end to be pursued, but a great object of political education to be attained, and therefore we may well put up with disappointment and annoyance rather than sweep away those institutions which are calculated in the end, as they become better understood and as the people become more accustomed to work them, to confer large benefits upon the community in general. Gentlemen, I therefore desire, and my colleagues desire with me, to see the powers and independence of local bodies increased and extended as opportunity may offer. We desire to see the principle of election extended where it may be possible, although we are well aware that we can only proceed gradually and tentatively in that direction."

The true policy of the Government seems to be to restrict the control of Municipalities to such matters as can be entrusted to them with a fair degree of confidence, and, having done so, to give them the utmost possible discretion within those limits. Where they cannot be trusted to decide rightly, or where the consequences of error would be so serious that it would be opposed to public entrusts to encounter the risk of their deciding wrongly, they should not be invited to decide at all.

On the question of State education, the views of the Government have not been expressed with so much detail. Enough, however, is known to indicate that it has decided on a considerable extension of the means of primary instruction, while it is disposed to reduce within much narrower limits the existing expenditure of public money on the higher education of the well-to-do classes. A strong Committee is about to sit in Calcutta to consider the question of a complete reorganisation of this branch of the administration; but any change that may be introduced will probably be gradual in its operation. Of all subjects, next to taxation, this is, perhaps, the one which excites the greatest amount of feeling among the upper section of the native community, especially in Bengal, where the Babu has come to look upon the free education of his children in the English language as part of the duty of the Government, and opposition to any extensive reduction of the expenditure under this head will probably be both vigorous and widespread.

The subject of education for the children of the poorer classes of Europeans and Eurasians has also formed the subject of a Minute distinguished as much by its sympathetic tone as by the thoughtfulness and liberality of the scheme described in it.

The interval between the Simla and Calcutta seasons has been utilised by the Viceroy for the purpose of a tour of portions of Upper India and Rajputana, the places visited including Delhi, Agra, Jeypore, Amber, Ajmir, Chittor and Benares. His Excellency's reception was every where of the most enthusiastic description, and in Rajputana was marked by a magnificent display of barbaric pomp, combined with lavish hospitality. The various ceremonials gone through scarcely call for description here. Of the addresses delivered, all that need be said is that they were marked by more than the usual cordiality on the one side and on the other by a warmth of sympathy which cannot fail to win for Lord Ripon an exalted place in the estimation of the chiefs and people who were their recipients.

One of the first acts of the Government since its arrival in Calcutta has been the publication of a Resolution, bearing date December 8th, on the organisation of Agricultural Departments in India. The main object of these Departments, which will be under the provincial administrations, will be the carrying out of the programme sketched in the Report of the Famine Commission, *i. e.* *Firstly.*—More complete and systematic ascertaining and rendering available of the statistics of vital, agricultural and economic facts for every part of India in order that Government and its officers may always be in possession of an adequate knowledge of the actual condition of the country, its population, and resources.

Secondly.—The general improvement of Indian agriculture with the view of increasing the food-supply and general resources of the people.

Thirdly.—Better and prompt organization of famine relief whenever the actual approach of famine may be indicated by the statistical information.

Pending the full consideration by the local Governments of the Draft Famine Code prepared by the Commissioners, the third of these subjects will, however, be held in abeyance. The data for carrying out the second item in the programme have yet to be ascertained. It is to the first point accordingly that the attention of the Departments will be immediately confined, "consideration being primarily given to the development of a permanent organisation in each province of such a character as may be most compatible with existing administrative arrangements, with the view of confiding to it the execution of those measures which may be required for the maintenance of a thorough system of agricultural inquiry."

The collection of agricultural statistics, the investigation of local conditions, with a view to ascertaining what special obstacles exist to agricultural improvement and by what means they can be most readily removed, will be the earliest work to be undertaken, the broader questions of general improvement being deferred till the analysis already indicated has been completed.

As far as possible, the work of the Department will be carried out through the agency of existing establishments, the settlement establishments, being utilised for the purpose wherever available, and the resolution impresses on the local Governments the necessity of securing the co-operation of native gentlemen who are interested in Indian Agriculture and acquainted with its details, as well as the European community of planters and landlords. The resolution concludes by thus summing up the views of the Government:—

The views of the Government of India may be summed up by saying that the foundation of the work of an Indian Agricultural Department should be the accurate investigation of facts with the view of ascertaining what administrative course is necessary to preserve the stability of agricultural operations. It is desired, therefore, that the new departments should be so constituted as to give the fullest effect to this policy. The primary efforts of the Departments should, when established, be devoted to the organization of agricultural inquiry, which has been shown to comprise the duties of gauging the stability of agricultural operations in every part of a province, of classifying the areas of the province according to the results of careful investigation, and of deciding what method of administrative treatment is suitable to each, so as to maintain agricultural operations up to the highest standard of efficiency possible under present conditions. From a system of agricultural enquiries thus conducted will follow the gradual development of agricultural improvement in its manifold variety, and the Government of India will be satisfied if, on the first constitution of an agricultural Department, the organisation of agricultural inquiry is placed in the hands of qualified officials, to whom may be committed the subsequent preparation of carefully considered proposals for agricultural improvement.

The 15th December 1881.

POSTCRIPT.

THE only event of importance that has occurred since the above was written, has been the visit of Lord Ripon to Rangoon and Moulmein.

Leaving Calcutta in the Government steamer *Tenasserim* on the 17th instant, His Excellency and suite reached Rangoon on the 20th, and, after remaining there six days, proceeded on the 26th, to Moulmein. The reception at both places was most warm, and the impression produced on Lord Ripon by the country and people appears to have been a very pleasing one.

His Excellency is expected to return to Calcutta on the 2nd proximo.

December 31st, 1881.

therefore, that the new departments should be so constituted as to give the fullest effect to this policy. The primary efforts of the Departments should, when established, be devoted to the organization of agricultural inquiry, which has been shown to comprise the duties of gauging the stability of agricultural operations in every part of a province, of classifying the areas of the province according to the results of careful investigation, and of deciding what method of administrative treatment is suitable to each, so as to maintain agricultural operations up to the highest standard of efficiency possible under present conditions. From a system of agricultural enquiries thus conducted will follow the gradual development of agricultural improvement in its manifold variety, and the Government of India will be satisfied if, on the first constitution of an agricultural Department, the organisation of agricultural inquiry is placed in the hands of qualified officials, to whom may be committed the subsequent preparation of carefully considered proposals for agricultural improvement.

The 15th December 1881.

POSTCRIPT.

THE only event of importance that has occurred since the above was written, has been the visit of Lord Ripon to Rangoon and Moulmein.

Leaving Calcutta in the Government steamer *Tenasserim* on the 17th instant, His Excellency and suite reached Rangoon on the 20th, and, after remaining there six days, proceeded on the 26th, to Moulmein. The reception at both places was most warm, and the impression produced on Lord Ripon by the country and people appears to have been a very pleasing one.

His Excellency is expected to return to Calcutta on the 2nd proximo.

December 31st, 1881.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

GENERAL LITERATURE.

The Gun and its Development; with Notes on Shooting.—By W. W. Greener, Author of "Modern Breech-loaders," "Choke-bore Guns," etc., Cassell, Petter, Galpin and Co.: London, Paris and New York.

MR. GREENER'S previous works on guns are a guarantee for the excellence of at least a great portion of this one. On everything regarding the making and qualities of guns, there could hardly be a better authority.

The present work not only treats of modern guns, but goes at considerable length into the history of the weapon in all its forms, and winds up with a mass of thoroughly practical information on shooting and shooting-grounds at home and abroad, while the copious illustrations contained in it add largely to its utility.

The following remarks on the art of shooting on the wing are from the latter portion of the work. Mr. Greener's views about "holding ahead," and "holding on," will probably not be generally accepted.

As to the art of shooting on the wing, opinions widely different are credited by many well-experienced sportsmen. The lines of Watts, although old, are, however, applicable to modern sportsmen. The gist of his advice is contained in the following rhymes on Shooting Flying:—

"A few remarks may this explain,
Yet long 'twill take that art to gain,
Unless, with zealous patience, you
The following advice pursue:—
Remembering that nothing will
So certainly advance your skill
As sober habits, which preserve
Both strength of mind and strength of nerve—
Two matters that are influential
In many sports, in this—essential!
Walk, with a steady dog, o'er ground
Where partridges are quickly found.
However numerous they rise,
Look but at one, with both your eyes;
Then, elevate the tube with care,
Still gazing on the bird in air;
Follow it not along the sky
To take a formal aim, but try

To draw the trigger just as you
At the gun's end the object view.
Nine times in ten the gun is right
At first, obeying well the sight;
But if you look, and look again,
And doubt, and waver, it is plain,
Your hand has ev'ry chance to be
Betrayed by such uncertainty.
Proceed, then, as I just have taught,
The pleasing knack will soon be caught;
But let me re-advise (for this
Prevents, I'am certain, many a miss);
Close neither eye, some good shots say,
Shut up your left, that's not my way;
But still, a man may take his oath
He'd better shut one eye than both."

It is now acknowledged that it is better to make use of both eyes, and to pay no attention whatever to the gun whilst aiming. In short, the *eye*, *hand*, and *trigger* must act in perfect unison, and without any [illegible]eration having to be given to either. On a bird rising, the hand should *intuitively* raise the gun until it covers the object, from off which the eyes are not taken before the trigger is pulled. This only requires practice, and if such is forthcoming, and the body kept in perfect health, a good wing shot is sure to result.

Health is undoubtedly of the greatest importance to professional shots, and is necessary to good shooting. It cannot be expected that one who has not the power over his muscles to keep the hand steady can exert them to raise at once a gun and level it to the greatest nicety.

It is now the prevailing notion that most misses are caused by shooting behind or below the mark aimed at. To remedy this, straight stocks are recommended, and the following method has been devised to ascertain whether the gun is properly brought up. The shooter is to place himself three or four yards from a good-sized mirror, and aim at his own eye, raising the gun repeatedly, steadily but quickly, as in shooting at a bird. On looking into the mirror, with the gun as brought up to the shoulder, if the two round holes, or end elevation of the muzzle, is alone discernible in the mirror, the fit and handling of the gun is theoretically correct; if a little of the lower, or underside, of the barrel is likewise to be seen, so much the better; but if any of the top rib, or top side, of the barrels figures in the mirror, the chances are that nine shots out of every ten will be below the birds.

Now as to hitting fast-flying birds, and game running at full speed. It is a much-disputed point amongst all who use the gun whether the shooter should "hold on," or "ahead." The latter appears to have best of the argument, theoretically and practically. To prove that either plan is the correct one would be next to impossible, but, with due deference to the majority of sportsmen, we hold with the practice of "holding on." A great deal of the difference doubtless is caused by the manner of bringing up the gun the shooter has acquired; some bring up the gun with a "swing" in the direction the mark is moving, others bring up the gun and follow the object, whilst the majority of good shots put up the gun, and, it is supposed, fire "ahead." Now, those who shoot with the gun on the "swing," and who *intuitively* increase the speed of the "swing" in the same ratio as the increase in the speed of the mark, never require to "hold ahead," even in the opinion of the strongest supporters of the "hold ahead" theory. The second class of "poking" shots are generally most uncertain in their aim, and the habit is detrimental to becoming an expert snap shot; whilst we cannot but believe that many who imagine they "hold ahead," in reality "hold on."

In the first place, having practised raising the gun and perfecting the handling so that it shall intuitively follow the eye, it must be most difficult to point the gun away from the object at which both eyes are staring, and if the eyes are removed from the object to some distance ahead, it is impossible to accurately tell what distance the line of aim is from the bird. This is especially the case when gazing at the sky, and for a shooter to be able to aim ten or fifteen yards ahead, as is advised by some wild-fowlers, is next to impossible to do with regularity. When gazing at no fixed object, it is as easy to move 30° across the sky as ten yards, and that without being aware of the discrepancy. Those who hold on, by shooting promptly, prove the truth of the theory that it is necessary for the hand and eye to act in unison; whilst they who hold ahead, although agreeing that the hand must follow the eye, yet so shoot that the hand must point the gun in a different direction to the object on which the eye is fixed.

An ordinary full-choke possesses a killing circle of at least thirty inches in diameter at thirty yards; so that saying a bird crossing was fired at by one of the "holders on," the shot travelling at the rate of 225 yards per second (see Table *ante*), would reach the bird at thirty yards in less than 1-5th of a second from the instant of pulling the trigger, so that it would indeed be a fast-flying bird to get without the killing circle in that time. The time required from the instant of pulling the trigger to the explosion of the cap is greater than that occupied by the shot travelling fifty yards; but in hammerless guns the time is less than in hammer guns, the blow given being much shorter and direct, instead of being conveyed by an exploding-pin.

Some quick shots, however, anticipate the time it takes to *fire* the gun, and pull the trigger whilst raising the gun to the shoulder. This requires considerable practice to perfect, and the gun must, of course, be within an ace of the proper position; but, however the practice may be deprecated, it is certainly *au fait* for trap as well as general snap shooting.

In grasping the gun, a disputed point is the position of the left hand. As a rule, sportsmen grasp the barrels in the very weakest place—*viz.*, just in front of the cartridge chambers. Others again, to shield themselves as far as possible from danger, grasp the front of the trigger-guard by the left hand. This position is erroneous, as but little command is obtained over the gun, the liability of injury by the breaking of the breech-action is not at all lessened, and usually a piece of horn has to be attached to the trigger-guard, as in Fig. 283, spoiling the beauty and handiness of the gun.

To have full command over the gun, and at the same time exposing the hand and arm to a minimum of risk in case of a burst, *grasp the gun well forward*—if close to the fore-end tip so much the better—but do not bring the hand nearer to the breech than six inches, and keep the elbow well depressed. By having a proper command over the gun, it can be raised quickly and easily, and even a heavy or clumsy gun may be manipulated with tolerable success.

The following on large "bags" may prove interesting:—

LARGE BAGS.

Perhaps few topics afford more discussion amongst the shooting community than the subject of large bags, and different persons hold different opinions respecting them, according to each one's ideal as to what constitutes good sport. Without wishing in any way to take one side or the other, we append a few notes on the largest bags that have been made, as we believe every one will like to be accurately informed as to the largest bags recorded.

Battue shooting, a Continental fashion, has, of course, resulted in large bags, and rearing and preserving have to be more strictly persevered in, to keep up the average quantity of game.

Game on the Continent must, however, have been common enough in the eighteenth century, as the following clipping from an old journal will prove :—

"In 1788, a party of ten persons at the château of Prince Adam Daversperg, in Bohemia, who were out *five hours* on the 9th and 10th of September, allowed that the first day 6,168 shots were fired, and 876 hares, 259 pheasants, 362 partridges, besides quails, rabbits, hawks, &c., were bagged, or rather waggoned. On the second day 5,904 shots were discharged, and 181 hares, 634 pheasants, and 736 partridges were killed; in addition to these, in the evening of the second day were picked up 42 hares, 75 pheasants, and 103 partridges, which could not be immediately found in the bustle of the buisness. We are further informed that no peculiar mode was adopted to drive together such a quantity of game."

"Craven," in the *Sporting Magazine* for October 1845, gives an account of six days' shooting he had at that time in Germany. He says a party of a dozen killed, near the Hartz Mountains, in three days' shooting, 13 deer, 56 roes, 10 foxes and 325 hares; and at a shooting party in the plains of Magdeburg, in four days' shooting, no less than 2,400 hares were bagged.

The late King of Naples is said to have killed, at different times, in Austria, Bohemia, and Moravia, 5 bears, 1,820 wild boars, 1,968 stags, 13 wolves, 354 foxes, 15,350 pheasants, 1,121 rabbits, 16,354 hares, 1,625 she-goats, 1,625 roebucks, and 12,435 partridges—in all 52,670 head of game.

In 1755 a hunting party, of which the King of France made one, chased in Bohemia for eighteen days; there were but thirty-three persons in the party, and eight were ladies. Spears, hawks, &c., were employed, as well as guns, but the result of the chase was the bagging of 47,950 head of game and deer, *viz.* :—19 stags, 10 foxes, 18,243 hares, 19,545 partridges, 9,499 pheasants, 114 larks, 353 quails, and 454 other birds. The Princess Charlotte fired 9,010 shots, the King 1,798 shots, the rest of the party making up the number of shots, to 16,209.

To return to our own country. About twenty-five years ago, Mr. Campbell, of Monzies, N.B., having driven all the grouse into a first-rate beat, sallied forth at daylight with five muzzle-loading guns and a sufficent quota of keepers and watchers, and succeeded in bagging 220 grouse by evening; every "squeaker" was, however, counted.

Lord Walsingham, on the 28th of August 1872, at Bluberhouse, in Yorks, killed 842 grouse in one day to his own gun. This is the largest bag on record.

The next is that of Mr. F. A. Millbank, M.P., a week before that of Lord Walsingham's, and in the same county. The bag, the result of eight drives, was 364 brace; and Mr. Millbank's party, varying from five to nine in number, succeeded in bagging in six days, commencing August 20th, no less than 3,983½ brace, or nearly 8,000 birds. Mr. Millbank's score for the six days, including the 364 brace bagged the first day, was 1,099½ brace.

The largest bag made over dogs was by the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh, at Grantully, Perthshire, on the 12th of August 1871. His Highness used three guns, and only one pair of dogs working at a time. He commenced at five o'clock, and continued until late in the afternoon. The result was, 220 brace of grouse. His Highness has likewise made the largest bag of partridges—namely, 780 birds, hand-reared; this was made at Hall Farm, Griswell, on the 8th of September 1876. The birds were hand-reared and driven, and were bagged with a little more than 1,000 cartridges being fired.

The notes on foreign shooting grounds include even such remote localities as the Arctic Circle and Japan, and nearly thirty pages are given to India and Burmah. Of all the grounds named, perhaps Baffin's Bay is the most attractive, though unfortunately it is accessible only to sportsmen with their own yachts.

ARCTIC SPORT.

In the summer months a yachting cruise for sport may advantageously be made, either to Baffin's Bay or Lapland.

If, for the first-mentioned, the best time to leave is about the end of May, and steam to *Disco* in Danish Greenland, reached in four weeks. On Disco Island, and on the mainland at a short distance from the settlement, there is plenty of game—Ducks, Seal, Walruses, and a few Deer. Steaming along the coast near Pröven, "Looms," are to be seen in myriads. Cockburn Island will give good sport, but if Cape York, is passed, and a small bay called Port Foulke made (lat. 78 deg. 20' N.), it will afford excellent anchorage for eight or ten weeks, and is an unequalled centre for sport. Excursions may be made in its vicinity after the Musk-ox (*Bos Moschattus*), Reindeer, Hares, Foxes, Bears, Walruses and Seals. Sea-fowl of all kinds are numerous, including Ducks, Auks, Dovekies, Looms, Rotjes, and others barely classified.

It will be daylight almost the whole time, so that sport can be carried on without intermission.

The outfit should include a whale boat and harpoon gun, Express Rifles, and 10-bore shot guns.

In an easterly cruise during the summer or autumn, there is little chance of Walrus until rounding Cape North, and there it will only be found on icefloes. Walrus-hunters start annually from Tromsö, and coast along Novaiya Zemlya and Siberia, as far as Cape Taiymir. Sometimes great success is met with, at others sport is indifferent. Reindeer, Polar Bears, Foxes, Swans, Geese, Ducks, Ptarmigan, and many other birds are plentiful along the coast of Lapland and the borders of the White Sea, but this trip is not likely to prove so successful for sport as that to Baffin's Bay. An Express Rifle and a 10-bore shot gun will be equal to the sport, unless Walrus-hunting is determined upon.

Indo-Aryans: Contributions towards the Elucidation of their Ancient and Mediæval History. By Râjendralâla Mitra, C.I.E. In two volumes. Calcutta, W. Newman & Co., 3, Dalhousie Square. London: Edward Stanford, 55, Charing Cross. 1881.

THE contents of these two volumes of Dr. Râjendralâla Mitra's are accurately described in the title he has prefixed to them. They are a series of more or less elaborate essays, each of which is a valuable contribution, and several of which are highly valuable contributions, to the Ancient, or the Mediæval, history of the Indian branch of the great Aryan race, while at least one of them, that on the primitive Aryans, takes a wider scope, and discusses the relations and conditions of the primitive Aryans as a body and their various migrations. But they are, after all, only essays, and as such are rather materials for history than history itself. The very order in which they are placed is non-historical; for, if governed by any principle at all, it is not that of chronological sequence. A, history of even the Indo-Aryans, much less of the Aryan race, is at present, and possibly will always remain in the fullest sense of the word, an impossibility. At least the positive data available for the purpose are so scanty, that any history which should be free from all admixture of speculative matter would be almost too brief to deserve the name.

Much of the matter in the volumes before us is of a speculative character, and not a little of it is distinctly controversial in treatment and tone. But it is none the less interesting or instructive for this reason. Sometimes, however, Dr. Rájendralála Mitra is inclined to be a little too dogmatic. As an instance of this we may take his assertion, in the essay on the primitive Aryans, that there is no instance in history in which one nation has voluntarily accepted the language of another. This positive and sweeping statement, is not only not correct, unless the word "voluntarily" is used in a most restricted sense, but it is quite unnecessary to prove the conclusion that the Indo-European languages have descended from one primitive language and race.

One of the most interesting of the essays is that on the origin of the Hindi dialects. In Dr. Rájendralála Mitra's view that they are essentially Sanskritic, and derived from Sanskrit by direct descent, through the Prakrits, we agree; but we are inclined to think he underrates the amount of the non-Aryan element incorporated in Hindi, and we are referring here not to foreign accretions, like the Arabic of late date, but to an element which is evidently the survival of a primitive aboriginal Indian language, or languages, being, in all probability, the language or languages of a people, or peoples, who were absorbed by the Aryan conquerors of India, or who at least came to be incorporated as inferior castes in the Hindu community. The subject is very far from having been thoroughly investigated, but we believe it will be found that the names of a large proportion of the commonest objects in *thenth* Hindi are non-Aryan.

Among the subjects discussed in the essays are the architecture and sculpture; the dress and ornaments; the furniture, household utensils, musical instruments and carriages; the dietary and the funeral and coronation ceremonies of the ancient Hindus.

Human sacrifices in ancient India; the identity of the Yavanas with the Greeks; the history of the Pala and Sena dynasties; Bhoj Raja and his homonyms; the early life of Asoka; the vestiges of the kings of Gwalior and the origin of the Sanskrit alphabet are also discussed.

A Bengali Primer in Roman Character: By J. F. Browne, B. C. S., London. Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill.

THIS work, as far as we have been able to test it, combines accuracy with extreme simplicity. Consisting of only thirty short pages, it, of course, makes no pretension to exhaustiveness, but, as an introduction to the study of more elaborate works, it comes as near perfection as possible. Of the principle of Romanisation we, for many reasons, disapprove, and the only argument of any importance that can be urged in its favour, appears to us to be based on the most shadowy foundation. It abridges and simplifies, we are told, the task of the learner. Now, since the character cannot, at the most, take more hours to learn than the language does months, the amount of time saved cannot exceed about one-thirtieth of the whole, and it cannot for a moment be maintained that this infinitesimal gain is worth the sacrifice of one of the essential conditions of thoroughness. It is true, there is a class of students who are liable to be frightened by the hieroglyphic aspect of an Oriental alphabet, and for such students, no doubt, Romanisation removes a stumbling-block which they would perhaps never otherwise have got over. But we have no hesitation in saying that students who are so readily frightened had better not attempt the study of Oriental languages at all. We are aware, of course, that other arguments are urged in favour of Romanisation. A hope, for instance, is entertained in some quarters that native usage may itself be revolutionised, and an approach made towards a common character by popularising the Roman alphabet in India. Not only, however, is this hope utterly chimerical, but the consummation which is its object is not at all to be desired.

England's Duty to India. A Letter to the Most Honourable The Marquis of Hartington, Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India. By John Murdoch, LL. D. Madras: C. K. S. Press, Vepery. 1881.

THIS is an admirable little pamphlet, thoroughly practical, and going direct to the point. If it is somewhat overloaded with quotation, the authorities cited are always pertinent and unimpeachable.

That India should be governed in India, and for India, by men of special experience, subject to as little interference from Home as possible; that taxation should be suited to the conditions of the country, subject to the cardinal principles of fairness, convenience of the tax-payer, economy of collection, greatest possible width of distribution, and absence of annoyance and oppression, and that every effort should be made to develope the wealth of the country; these are the main points insisted on by the writer. Were it not that our later administration has largely ignored almost all these principles, they might be pronounced truisms.

Dr. Murdoch condemns in the strongest terms the attempt to govern India from Home; the system of Permanent Settlements, direct taxation, the repeal of the cotton duties. On all these points we are entirely in accord with what he says. The question of the opium policy of the Government, which he regards as the greatest blot on our rule, is a more dubious one.

While of opinion that natives should be employed as largely as possible, he is sufficiently liberal in the limits which he admits to this "possible," thinking that there should be at least two European officers, a Magistrate and Collector, in each district, and insisting on the retention of a highly trained special Civil Service. "It is possible," he says, "that well-meaning men at home may advocate the appointment of Natives to all positions in the Civil Service. Let this be done when it can with safety to the country, but not till then. The Queen's Proclamation contains the words:—'And it is our further will that, so far as may be, Our subjects, of whatever Race or Creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our Service, the duties of which they may be qualified, by their education, ability, and integrity, duly to discharge.'

The Proclamation is conditional, and a Native Civilian, especially a *Bengali* Civilian, has not the 'ability' to head an armed party of police, to put down a riot, or to defend his bungalow against attack, like a European."

A considerable portion of the letter is devoted to the subject of taxation, and especially to the question of the repeal of the cotton duties. It is to the customs, the writer thinks, that the Government should look for all necessary additions to the revenue, and he would re-impose the cotton duties, and at the same time, in order to obviate their operating protectively, subject the local manufactures to an equivalent tax.

VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

Bhárat Kosh. Compiled by Ráj Krishna Ráya eban Sarách Chandra Deb. Parts I, II, & III. Printed and published by Sarách Chandra Deb at the Biná Press, 37, Mechuábazar Street, Calcutta.

THIS is the first dictionary of its kind in Bengali, compiled with the view of furnishing information regarding Vaidik, Pauranik and Tantric theology, the literature, music, arts, sciences, philosophy, *Dharma Sastras*, geography, the mythical and historical personages, &c., of ancient India. The importance of a work of this kind cannot be over-estimated. Ancient Sanskrit literature is so vast, and the difficulty of exploring it is so great, that a publication of this sort cannot fail to be recognised as a literary enterprise of a very praiseworthy kind. We hope, however, that Babu Ráj Krishna Ráya and his colleague will collect information more from the original sources than from second-hand authorities like the writings of Indian and European Sanskritists. The late Raja Radha Kant Deb compiled his *Sabda Kalpa Druma* directly from Sanskrit sources; and that plan ought to be followed by the compilers of the dictionary under notice. The value of this dictionary, it may be also suggested, would be greatly enchanced by making the references a little more minute and explicit. Babu Ráj Krishna Ráya has commenced a good work, which, we hope, he will be enabled by persevering industry on his own part, and by liberal patronage on the part of the public, to bring to a successful completion.

Rámáyan. Translated into Bengali verse, by Ráj Krishna Ráya with Notes. Printed at the Albert Press, Calcutta.

THE *Rámáyan* and the *Mahábhárut*—the two great Sanskrit epics—have exercised a marvellous influence on the Hindu mind. As religious epics, they may be said to form the Bible of India. For many centuries, they have been, for the Indian people, the only source of mental culture. The moral and religious conceptions of the Hindus have been profoundly moulded by them. They form, for the people of this country, the most authoritative code of domestic, social and religious law. They have been, from time immemorial, read and listened to by all classes of Hindus in prosperity and in adversity, in happiness and in misery, in joy and in sorrow, for pleasure, for instruction, for religious advancement, for the regulation of practical life, for comfort, and for consolation. It is doubtful whether any other work of human genius has been anywhere used for so many purposes, or has performed a more comprehensive function in the economy of human life. But the *Rámáyan* and the *Mahábhárat* have been read only by a few members of the Brahminical class in the great Sanskrit originals. The great mass of the people have only heard them interpreted by *Kathaks*, or read them in the meagre and mutilated versions of Krittibás and Káshidás. The class of professional reciters of the Purans called *Kathaks*, of whom many yet exist and exercise what is still a very useful and lucrative craft, are always compelled to adapt their interpretations of original Sanskrit literature to the tastes and requirements of mixed and popular audiences; whilst writers like Krittibás and Káshidás, who derive their information from the *Kathaks*, are necessarily third-hand authorities, who may be very good in their own way, but whom it would be a grave mistake to regard as faithful interpreters of the great Sanskrit originals. Krittibás and Káshidás have had, it is true, their time and their triumph, and seem destined to hold their ground for many more years. The village shopkeeper, it is clear, will not be in a position to dismiss them very soon. But the history of Bengali literature for the last 25 years or so, is the history of a progress in culture and improvement in literary taste which cannot be satisfied with such commodities as Krittibás and Káshidás. The rapidity with which several prose versions of the two great epics have been within recent years bought up by Bengali readers is a remarkable fact, which may be regarded as implying the existence of a condition of things in which not garbled but faithful versions of good Sanskrit works are urgently needed. Already this want has been supplied in a really magnificent style by such men as Pandit Hem Chandra Bhattáchárjya and the late Babu Káli Prasanna Sinha. These men have, however, given us only prose translations of the *Rámáyan* and the *Mahábhárat*. But easy metrical translations of such poems must possess a peculiar interest, and may be rightly expected to suit intellectual capacities of a more varied kind than those which would appreciate scholarly prose. It is for this reason that we hail the appearance of the work under notice as a valuable contribution to the national literature of Bengal. It contains an easy translation into Bengali verse of the first three books of the *Rámayan*. The metre employed by the translator is of the kind which is most popular among Bengali readers of *all* classes, and includes only a few of those foreign imitations which have become disgustingly common in modern Bengali literature, but which possess little or no recommendation besides their *foreign* appearance. We give below a specimen of the author's metre and style :—

অনন্তর রামচন্দ্র সুধীর লক্ষণে
কহিতে লাগিলা ধীরে মধুর বচনে :
প্রাণের লক্ষ্মন ! তুমি ধর্ম্মপরায়ণ,
সৎ পথাবলম্বী আর শান্তি নিকেতন ।
সর্ব্বদা তোমারে আমি জীবনের চেয়ে
প্রিয়জ্ঞান ক’রে থাকি সন্তুষ্ট হৃদয়ে
তুমি মম বশ্য অতি, জীবনের সখা,
তব সম হিতকারী নাহি যায় দেখা
তুমিও যদ্যপি, ভাই ! আজি মম সনে,
ত্যজিয়া অযোধ্যাপুরী যাও ঘোর বনে,
তা’ হ’লে কৌশল্যা আর সুমিত্রা জননী
কাঁদিবেন মহাশোকে দিবস রজনী

It is clear that language, such as this cannot fail to be understood by those who have received little or no education, and that, considered in a literary point of view, Babu Raj Krishna's work is calculated to be a successful rival of Krittibás's popular version. For the learned, this work possesses great interest, inasmuch as it is full of notes embodying the results of varied reading and diligent research. Valmiki's great poem, it should be also noted, is full of chaste and genial poetry, and is besides instinct with a spirit of universal charity combined with a spirit of moral rectitude which, while it charms the soul by its exquisite sweetness and simple earnestness, cannot fail to exercise a deeply soothing and elevating influence on the reader's mind. Krittibás's *Rámáyan*, with all its excellences, falls far short of the great original in this respect. And it may be therefore expected of a faithful version like the one under notice that it will be a powerful instrument of *popular culture* in this country, and prove an invaluable auxiliary to the schemes of mass education which are now, it is believed, under the consideration of the Government of Lord Ripon. Babu Ráj Krishna Ráya is doing a truly national work, and the nation expects that he will complete it in the spirit of devotion in which he has begun it.

Banga Mahilá. By Jogendra Náráyan Ráya. Printed and published by Nandalál Basu at the Sádhárani Press, Chinsurah. 1881.

ONE of the most noticeable features of the great moral and intellectual revival which has taken place in this country under the influence of English education and English example, is to be found in the increased and active interest which educated Hindus are now seen to take in the condition of their women. Girls' schools, periodicals like the *Bámábodhini Patriká*, and schemes for female emancipation are facts which possess a deep significance. They mean that the action of a foreign government has been productive of social influences of a more powerful and organic character than what political philosophers are generally found willing to ascribe to such action. Educated Hindus think and feel that the condition of their women is not what it should be, and that the existing relations of the sexes in this country stand in need of very important modifications. This means that English education has opened the eyes of its recipients to the necessity of altering the most essential of all human arrangements, the foundation for all other arrangements, the arrangement of the home. It is doubtful, therefore, whether a foreign influence, which is in this case synonymous in an essential degree with the influence of a foreign government, has any where produced so deep a result as it has done in this country. Of the extent to which Native opinion regarding the condition of Hindu women has been influenced by English education and English example, some idea may be formed from the work under notice. The education of Bengalí women, the sort of books which they should read, the manner in which they should spend their time, their dress, their widowhood, their moral influence over their husbands, their domestic duties, their management of children, their religion, these and certain other topics have been discussed by Babu Jogendra Náráyan Ráya. Unanimity of opinion on so many questions bearing upon the fundamental problem of woman's culture and position in the family is almost impossible; and we therefore feel no hesitation in declaring our dissent from the author on several important points. But in spite of differences of opinion, we cannot help expressing our hearty approval of the spirit of sympathy with the sex in this country in which the work has been throughout written. The author is really a friend and well-wisher of Bengali women, and we may also add, that he entertains for them very high esteem and respect. He desires that their condition should be materially improved, but he seems evidently to belong to that class among educated Natives who deprecate violent change. He has given advice to both the men and women of Bengal on a large variety of points, and although opinion may vary as to its soundness in all instances, it may be freely admitted that it is nowhere characterised by extravagance or a spirit of Utopian enthusiasm. *Banga Mahilá* is, indeed, one of the best books of its kind we have come across for some time, and it forms, we are glad to say, a really useful and valuable contribution to Bengali literature. Its style is easy and its diction, smart and impressive. But the author's manner is not always unexceptionable. In speaking of the treatment of unhappy Hindu widows by the married women of Bengal, the author thus delivers himself:—

আর তোমাকে ও বলি বঙ্গীয় সধবা রমনি! তুমি লেখাপড়া শিক্ষা করিয়া ও জাতিয় স্বভাব পরিত্যাগ করিবে না? তোমার বিধবা ননদিনী যদি এক খানি রাঙ্গাপেড়ে সাড়ী পরিধান করেন, তবে তোমার প্রানে তাহা সহ্য হয় না কেন? বিষে-ভরা বক্র হাসি বাহির হয় কেন?

We feel no hesitation in saying that the সধবা রমণী (married woman) of Bengal, when she reads these lines, will be irresistibly moved to laugh a thoroughly girl-like laughter without heeding the point of the rebuke which is intended to be conveyed to her. In this, and in many other instances like this, the author's manner should have been awfully grave and severely judicial. But in spite of these defects, we feel real pleasure in recommending Babu Jogendra Nárâyna's work for earnest perusal by both the men and the women of Bengal.

Bhrántibinod. By Káli Prasanna Ghosh. Printed and published by Munshi Maula Buksh at the Dacca Girish Press. 1881.

BABU Káli Prasanna Ghosh is a distinguished name in modern Bengali literature. As the editor of the *Bándhab*, a first-class Bengali periodical, Babu Káli Prasanna Ghosh is the leader of a large group of Bengali scholars hailing from all parts of the country; and he is therefore a representative member of the literary community of Bengal He has occupied this proud position for several years, and, considering his earnest devotion to the cause of his country's literature, it may be confidently asserted that he will maintain and adorn it for many a long year to come. He is a literary veteran whom every body respects, and who knows how to make himself respected by all. His last work, *Bhrántibinod,* is in every respect worthy of him and of his representative position. He has in this work exposed the many vices, follies, weaknesses, crudities, shortcomings, harmful conventionalities, and tyrannies of modern civilisation and of the modern man. The style in which he has done this is, to our thinking, better than that in which subjects of this kind are ordinarily treated. The sarcastic style is a powerful literary weapon, and there are cases in which it may be very effectively employed. But it is in most cases a style which is offensive to those for whose benefit it is adopted. Its use is generally attributed to pride, overweening self-confidence, and want of genuine sympathy with others. Men who are actuated, or who are believed to be actuated by such impulses, can never make themselves agreeable to those for whom they write, and are invariably listened to with scant respect, if not in a positively contemptuous spirit. Sarcasm, in fact, may possess a purely literary interest; but for purposes of instruction, it is worse than useless. It often confirms men in the foolish and vicious courses against which it is directed. Babu Káli Prasanna Ghosh has therefore rightly avoided the sarcastic style, except in a few cases in which it is impossible for a cultivated man to feel anything but contempt. His style is a thoroughly earnest style, with, in many places, an under-current of humour to give it point. The three most noticeable features in the writings before us are an ardent love of independence, a stern hatred of moral sham and impurity, and an ardent tone of unselfishness and universal benevolence. Babu Káli Prasanna Ghosh's love of moral purity and sincerity is, indeed, so fervent as to lead him, in some cases, to perpetrate exaggerations of the nature of mistakes. We will give one instance. In his paper on "Current and obsolete lies," Babu Káli Prasanna Ghosh severely condemns the graceful and agreeable conventionalism in accordance with which a man, whether feeling well or ill, happy or unhappy, invariably answers a "How do you do?" with an "All right, thank you." We do not know whether it would not be more casuistical than anything else to question the propriety of a social conventionalism of this sort. But we are quite sure that the "All right, thank you," under all circumstances, is not a LIE, and is nowhere meant or understood to be such. But extreme views of this sort are in the case of Babu Káli Prasanna Ghosh owing to an ardent love of moral purity and sincerity; and if they are considered to be faults, they are at any rate faults on virtue's side. Babu Káli Prasanna Ghosh has displayed a vast amount of learning in the papers collected in this volume, and that learning, as well as the deep earnestness of his soul, has been reflected in a style of expression which may be described as being characteristically his own for eloquence and literary workmanship.

Ámi Ramaní-Kábya. Printed by Rájendra Náth Sen, and published by Bhuban Chandra Mukhopádhyáya at the Sudhábarsan Press, Calcutta, 1288. B. S.

A BENGALI lady describes in this volume the severe persecution she has suffered at the hands of a jealous and wicked co-wife, the ruin in which her husband's family has been involved in consequence of her co-wife's selfish extravagance, and the difficulty with which, after her husband's death, she is supporting his miserable family including her co-wife and her children. The only good thing that we can say regarding this poetical narrative is this. It gives a very graphic picture of a Hindu household lorded over by a jealous co-wife and ruined by her influence. As for the authoress herself, we think that it would have been better if she had not published the story of her sufferings. Silent suffering is a higher and purer example for man than suffering which is made known to the world as if (and the hypothesis naturally suggests itself) with some secret intention of claiming praise or merit for the sufferer. The lady, indeed, raises a practical question at the end of her book; and that is, how should helpless women of the more respectable classes among Hindus, who can neither practise a profession nor go about publicly begging from door to door, maintain themselves? We admit that this question is growing in importance, as the old Hindu domestic system is giving way before the individualising influence of Western culture. But a narrative of personal suffering, like the one under notice, is not, we are decidedly of opinion, exactly the place where such a question should be raised. Society is aware of this problem, and society *must* solve it when it becomes really pressing in its character.

Nitimanjari. By Surya Kumár Adhikári, B. A. Printed at the Sanskrit Press, and published at the Sanskrit Press Depository, Calcutta, 1881.

THIS is a little school-book consisting of easy poems very well calculated to work upon the moral nature of children. We have great pleasure in recommending it for use in the schools for boys and girls in this country.

THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOLUME LXXIV.

1882.

No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world; and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.

CALCUTTA:
PRINTED & PUBLISHED BY
THOMAS S. SMITH, CITY PRESS, 12, BENTINCK STREET.
BOMBAY: MESSRS. THACKER & CO., "LIMITED."
MADRAS: MESSRS. HIGGINBOTHAM & CO.
LONDON: MESSRS. TRÜBNER & CO., 57 & 59, LUDGATE HILL.

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. CXLVII.

CONTENTS.

PAGE.

ART. I.—TIBET AND THE WAY THITHER 1

„ II.—THE LANGUAGES OF AFRICA 17

„ III.—MORAL CHOLERA 54

„ IV.—HOW THE PORTUGUESE OBTAINED A FOOTING IN THE ISLAND OF DIU :

How the Portuguese obtained a footing in the Island of Diu; slew Bahádur Sháh the Sultán of Guzerat; took possession of the town; were besieged by the Guzeratis, and also by Suleymán Pasha with a Turkish fleet, which, after raising the siege, departed again to the Red Sea 71

„ V.—PATNA, DURING THE LAST DAYS OF THE MAHOMEDANS 114

„ VI.—ECONOMIC REFORM IN RURAL INDIA ... 138

„ VII.—SIR THOMAS ROE, AND THE COURT OF JEHANGEER 175

„ VIII.—SOCIAL LIFE IN BENGAL FIFTY YEARS AGO. BY AN OLD INDIAN 183

THE QUARTER 193

CRITICAL NOTICES :—

I.—GENERAL LITERATURE.

1.—The Gun and its Development; with Notes on Shooting.—By W. W. Greener, Author of "Modern Breech-loaders," "Chokebore Guns," etc., Cassell, Petter, Galpin and Co.: London, Paris and New York. i

PAGE.

2.—Indo-Aryans: Contributions towards the Elucidation of their Ancient and Mediœval History. by Rájendralála Mitra, C.I.E. In two volumes. Calcutta, W. Newman & Co., 3, Dalhousie Square. London: Edward Stanford, *55*, Charing Cross. 1881. v

3.—A Bengali Primer in Roman Character: By J. F. Browne, B. C. S., London. Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill. vii

4.—England's Duty to India. A Letter to the Most Honourable The Marquis of Hartington, Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India. By John Murdoch, L.L. D. Madras: C. K. S. Press, Vepery. 1881. ... ... *ib.*

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW.

NO. CXLVIII.

ART. I.—THE INDIAN SERVICES.

LUGETE Veneres, Cupidinesque. Let all things gay and graceful mourn the untimely loss of ALI BABA! Had he lived long enough, the subject of the present paper might have found a fitter draughtsman: one who could tell truth laughing, and utter useful commonplaces in his own original and striking manner:—*Difficile est propriè communia dicere!* Possibly his picture would not have been all light and sweetness. Readers of his *Twenty-one Days* will recollect such passages as the following:—

"Reams of hiccoughing platitudes lodged in the pigeon-holes of the Home Office by all the gentlemen clerks and gentlemen farmers of the world cannot mend this; while the Indian villager has to maintain the glorious phantasmagoria of an imperial policy; while he has to support legions of scarlet soldiers, golden chuprassies, purple politicals, and green commissions; he must remain the hunger-stricken, over-driven phantom that he is."

Yet after all due allowance had been made for whimsical exaggeration and pleasant pantagruelism; after the poetical Viceroy, the unloaded Commander-in-Chief, the "long shore Governors," the bi-mundane Archdeacon and the rest, had been discounted, there would doubtless have been left a residuum of real merit and of good honest labour that would have resisted ridicule and survived in the crucible of satire. It is impossible to believe that so acute an observer, so manly a thinker as Mr. Aberigh-Mackay could have intended to play the part of Smelfungus, who went from Dan to Beersheba and found all barren. He must have meant to acknowledge that great wars had been sometimes waged, great public works somewhere constructed, in British India; that the peace had been kept, and life and property protected, to a degree not usual in Eastern countries. In one of his papers he went so far as to represent a District Judge as a man who went about philandering in gray kid gloves, and only looked into his court in his *momens perdus*, to bandy repartees with the Bar. Yet he must have known that above the District Judge there was a High Court to which he had to submit quarterly statements of the business before him, and of the number of days which he devoted to it.

But Ali Baba is gone; and it will be many a long year before the Indian services again meet with a pen so fit to describe their merits and their drawbacks. A foreign traveller once said of the rulers of Anglo-India that they were just, but not amiable; in which sentence (whether intentionally or not) he sounded a high note of praise. It was Dr. Johnson's mature experience of his countrymen that they were less just than he had supposed when young, but more generous. If the foreign Administrator of India really reverses this finding, it must be because, while intercourse with undeveloped tribes and races leads to some austerity of feeling or of manner, yet the sense of great responsibilities stimulates to a corresponding earnestness in the discharge of duty. Over all, and apart from this, it is a historical fact that the services have at all times hitherto comprised among their ranks a select few of whose soaring aims and specific genius they have made such a standard as has tended to keep their tone and their traditions upon a lofty level.

Such men have not always found glory—which indeed is not an English ideal—the salt of the earth sometimes eludes all analysis. As a great modern writer* has said :—

"The growing good of the world is partly dependent on unhistoric acts; and, that things are not so ill with you and me as they might have been, is half owing to the number who lived faithfully a hidden life, and rest in unvisited tombs."

Even of those who have achieved, how many are as good as forgot already? Beyond a small circle of specialists, who knows the name of Augustus Cleveland, the tamer of the Bengal hill savages, of Shore the pioneer of Dehra Doon, of the founders of the Trigonometric Survey, the framers of the Penal Code, or the Engineer of the Grand Trunk Road?

And not only are these men unremembered in many instances, but the very nature of their work may be called in question.

---

* George Eliot.

That inverted patriotism which is, in respect of national matters, what morbid self-examination is to individuals, finds it an easy undertaking to hit blots in Britannia's blazoned scutcheon. The morality of Indian conquest has not escaped these critics; and in some instances—such as the conduct of Sir Charles Napier in Sindh—the end has been held to fail in justifying the means adopted. It may be said that a distant nation ought never to "turn the eagle against heaven's course," * and go back to the old Eastern cradle to domineer over the decline of its parent race. The natives of India are unfriendly, possibly irreconcileably so, to the nation of upstart aliens who spend their hard earned halfpence in teaching them lessons that they have no wish to learn They would suck their eggs cheaper and more easily without the encumbrance of British aid.

These are, for the most part, matters of opinion. But the men, with their qualities, to whom Britain is indebted for this grave responsibility, this perilous possession, this, perhaps, questionable authority, remain what they were under every aspect. It was not theirs to resolve nice points of political casuistry, but only to execute appointed tasks; and that they did as it has seldom been done elsewhere. They were faithful in a few things; subordinates who did as they were bid: none better. And they were no lucky accidents, or creatures of momentary impulse. Such as we see them in action such they made themselves in obscure, if not silent, preparation. They differ from ourselves chiefly in this; that they redeemed the time which we waste in idleness, in frivolity or in misconduct. They observed incessantly; they thought boldly; they aspired patiently; they laboured without rest, and without haste, bending themselves to the varying task from day to day.

It has no doubt often occurred to sympathetic thinkers that there must have been a common principle at the bottom of success in Indian public life: but, if there was, it is one that is not easily perceived. In one man we see valour and energy combined with loose principles, deficient moral courage, and hatred of letters; in his greatest contemporary we see a low standard of political morality, and an iron will, joined to pure personal conduct, warm domestic affection, and a frivolous habit of trifling with the old maids of Pindus. The varieties presented by Clive and Hastings continue to be visible in the careers of their successors. Metcalfe was a man of the world, Elphinstone a man of the closet; Munro looked on life through office-windows, Malcolm from the back of a horse. It was at one time the fashion to attribute the success of such men to the action upon their minds

---

* Dante *Paradiso* VI., I.

of religious feelings, or at least of early religious training. And, if by "religion" we were to understand that mysterious sense of obligation to a supernatural creditor which has for so long been the common tendency of high-wrought souls, there might be truth in that view of the matter. But Clapham—?

Yet there will be found cases enough of persons who have soared without being inflated by any wind of doctrine, whether blowing from Clapham or elsewhere; and who yet rose and sailed along the same shining path of virtue. The common principle, if any, was adaptability to these formative influences which no longer operate in India with the same strength. In most cases there were long years of obscurity, and difficulty, and constant personal peril; study of men, if not of books; much of weary waiting with neglect—it might be injustice—to bear; the insolence of office and the wrongs that patient merit takes of the unworthy; and in all there must have been self-preparation, self-reliance, and self-mastery; with a sense that the heart, though an earthen vessel, contained treasure, to be put to use and not buried idly in the ground.

Perhaps the most famous Indians of the Victorian age have been Thomason, the Lawrences, Durand, Hodson, Nicholson, Outram, R. Napier, Donald McLeod, and Bartle Frere. Many other names will at once occur, and swell the apparent discord. Such men seem to have no points of agreement; for one is English or Scottish, another a Celt from Ireland or the Highlands; some are, in a small way, aristocrats, others sprung from the lower middle class; some notorious dunces, others refined scholars; some sons of the Anglican Church, and some of Ulster Puritans; while more than one had no special interest in religious questions at all. Nor was it any indiscriminate courtesy and benevolence: they were not even agreed in their methods of treating Asiatics, or in their views of the Asiatic character. Sir Henry Lawrence was pro-native in theory, though sometimes impatient, even to violence, in practice; and his pupil, Hodson, held natives of the country cheap indeed. Sir Bartle's philanthropy and courtesy are known to all. Nicholson often showed symptoms of contempt for the whole human race, "without distinction of creed or color"; John Lawrence, to the last, hectored and lectured Nawabs and Rajas as if he were still a Joint Magistrate among fat yeomen.

If we are still told that a common result must show a common cause, we may surely recognise the earnestness with which such men fed the growth of their souls. Voltaire says, that character is more than talent; and it will be found to be the root not necessarily of prosperity—for the coward and the knave will sometimes prosper where a hero might fail—but of all that is best in human conduct. It was the association of trying environments with a tough yet active organism that produced these great men. It may be asked, why speak of the Indian services in this historical tone, as things of the past? The answer is that they have really ceased to exist: with the great revolution of 1857 the old system virtually came to an end; and what exists now is but a feeble shoot from the stumps of the fallen trees that once seemed so strong and useful. And, indeed, in times of peace and routine the well-born noodle, or the mechanical drudge—especially if not troubled with conscience and aspiration—will do the work as well as a better man. But the circumstances of "the Company's" India used to present conditions of a very different character, such as sometimes to make the children of the established fact cower and lose their heads with a well-founded sense of impotence, as of foolish virgins who had provided no oil for their lamps. It is this which distinguishes the present from the past. It may be that all danger and difficulty have not yet been removed from the path of the future, and that the British Empire in India has rude trials still to come. But for many years these things have been comparatively dormant. And the peace and good government that have followed on the labours of her earlier heroes have much facilitated the task of their successors.

It is therefore just now a matter of mainly historical interest to inquire into the formation and influence of those who are marked out as men to whom their countrymen trusted in time of trouble, alike for the interests of Empire and the welfare of individuals; the maintenance of great principles as certainly as the decision of a county court suit. Much stationery has been wasted by philosophers over what has been called the "greatman theory": that is to say, on the discussion whether your great man is like Addison's angel who

> "Rides on the whirlwind and directs the storm,"

or whether he is a mere secretion of society in certain conditions. The inquiry is not material to us. Indian society could not have developed such men without the help of favouring causes in Britain; but it is equally true, that, if the men had remained in Britain, they could have never risen much beyond the level of British life, being simply shrewder lawyers, more sagacious apothecaries, more pushing tradesmen, or, perhaps, more audacious scamps, than their ordinary contemporaries. It needed influences from two Continents to make them what they were. On the other hand, once made, they greatly affected their environments. It is no exaggeration to say that the Punjab, for instance, could not have been exactly what it is without the Lawrence brothers; it would have had neither its gentry nor its commonalty in the same condition, neither its land-revenue settlements nor its municipal organisation, its criminal administration or its civil code. It has been already pointed out that the heroes of British India are not to be looked upon as mere monstrous births of Nature, cast forth by chance in some volcanic hour. Not less misleading would it be to suppose that their preparation was made systematically and ceased at any particular period of their lives. Every soul of man, as we are told by Empedocles on Ætna, "strikes root into a far off time," and brings into the world ancestral experiences woven into the tissues of his being. Yet Pope has rightly warned us of the occasional failure of all the blood of all the Howards; and some at least of our great men gave but little promise either from what was known of their pedigree or what was shown by their own boyhood. Clive, we learn, was a rebellious dunce; the scion of an unsuccessful family; Hastings was, besides, a presumptuous dreamer. The Lawrences—sons of a half pay Captain sprung from a race of Ulster Yeomen—were undistinguished as young men, whatever be the myths of gushing biographers wise after the event. Nicholson in later life regretted that he had "not made use of the opportunities, &c." Hodson went to Cambridge, but failed to graduate in honours—which as a sixth form, Arnoldite Rugbeian, he ought to have done—Outram was a Scottish roturier who received only the average training of his class. It may be doubted whether any of them would have passed one of our modern competitive examinations. But they were all active, manly boys, leaders—so far as can be learned—of their companions, a little despised, probably, both by the bookworms and the butterflies; exciting, certainly, no great jealousy in any quarter. Let us proceed, after these tiresome but needful preliminaries, to see what were some of the circumstances which called forth the latent powers of some of these extraordinary men.

Henry Lawrence, for example, in the fourth year of his service, was ordered to sea for change of air. Instead of going where other people went, he chose Canton for his *villegiatura*; and a friend who met him there found that his recreation consisted in spending his time at the Public Library, studying the business of a Surveyor. Sent on to Europe, he joined the Irish Survey, and there acquired the skill and knowledge which enabled him, on return to India, to start on a path of his own. Posted to the revenue survey of the Gorakpur District he soon distinguished himself. Seven years of solitary work in that then wild country turned him out fit for almost any duty. Nothing like his despatch: Thomason called him "Gunpowder." His energy arose from zeal combined with knowledge: "his great strength lay in ubiquity:" he "gave himself little rest, even at night:" he was willing to undertake "any kind of work; and little cared whether it fell within the range of his own recognised duties, so long as he could be of service to the State"

Yet all this efficient and loyal labour had to languish in the shade sometimes. Transferred to the political branch during the first Afghan war, he found himself neglected when the war was over. "Like many others," so he wrote in 1842, "I am disappointed at the distribution of honours" (an old story, this!); "in fact, it would seem to have been supposed that I was a kind of Assistant in the Commissariat." In charge of two Punjab Districts, my pay is "less than if I were with the regiment." Fortunately, not only for himself but for India, these clouds were transitory. Promoted to the pleasant sinecure of Khatmandu, he turned to literature, a new field of labour which, to his somewhat untrained faculties, must have been at first trying, though it ultimately turned out fertile. The pages of the *Calcutta Review*, then in its infancy, benefited; but the contributions, as we may see for ourselves in the reprint now appearing, were better in matter than in manner. Yet here again appear his flexible strenuousness and unwearied attention. His articles, we are told by the then Editor,* were valued for their substance rather than for the skill displayed in its exposition. So "he tried to improve his style"; and wrote that, with this object, he had been reading Macaulay's Essays and *Studying Lindley Murray*. The Governor-General, Sir H. Hardinge, noticed the writings thus produced; and, being a man of the world, superior to the ordinary prejudices of officials, resolved to make further use of the author.

In the beginning of 1846 the Sikh resistance was for the time crushed, the Punjab was reduced to the condition of a protected State, and Lawrence was called to the scene of his former labours in that Province. But his health again broke down. In 1847 he revisited Europe on furlough, and astonished the loungers of Regent Street by his mediæval bearing and unstudied costume. The recrudescence of the Sikh animosity, under Mulráj and Sher Singh, soon roused him; and, under advice from the Duke of Wellington, he sought permission to return to the scene of his political duties. He received an answer from the Court of Directors, "politely ignoring me and leaving me to act on my own judgment as I was on medical certificate. I was disappointed, but perceived no hostility in the Court's act." So wrote the unworldly soldier, and surely it is almost superfluous to say that no "hostility" can be perceived in Routine's impartial calm.

---

* The late Sir John Kaye.

He soon got back to the Punjab, where he was welcome, his presence being most beneficial upon the gloomy field of Chilianwála and Lord Gough, after the bloody day, proposed to retire four miles for the sake of supplies. "Not a mile," said Lawrence, who was with him as political adviser, "if you do, the Sikhs will claim the day." The advice was taken, and British prestige was saved a serious blow.

After the annexation of the Punjab a triumvirate was set up by the Government, under the name of "Board of Administrators;" and of that Board Lawrence was Chief. How it split up, and what were his feelings on the subject, could not be detailed without stirring embers not yet cold. Sir Henry—as he now was—seemed to pass under a stronger shadow than usual, but he soon blazed out again with added lustre. The present writer met him at Rurki, on the opening of the Ganges Canal in 1854, when he seemed resting in the comparative ease of the Rajputána Agency, and chiefly occupied with his schemes—since so fruitful—for the physical and moral care of soldiers' orphans. We next beheld him in his brief bright ending, the prescient antagonist of rebellion that he had done nothing to provoke, breathing spirit into the defence of Lucknow, while watching over its minutest details, dying in its darkest hour, defeated but not despondent, with the patent of provisional Viceroy under the pillow of his death-bed.

Such was the career of a man without brilliant intellect, high training, or aristocratic connexions; and it is a singular fact, indeed, that a still more distinguished career fell to the lot of his younger brother. There is a story that Sir Henry, at the close of his life, had been heard to say, "My brother, John, is a hard man." In any case, the contrast between the two brothers was as complete as that between the sternest Roundhead and the most chivalrous Cavalier; while the elder, with occasional flamings of temper and some disregard of the minor proprieties, was thoroughly courteous, pitiful, and knightly, the younger was reserved, rough, and rather practical than popular. To use the words of an ardent admirer, "he forgot men's names and faces, shook hands with the wrong man, and gave a distant bow to him to whom he ought to have been cordial. He did not mix with the crowd at his parties, and generally spent the evening in talking with any one who had the assurance to address him." It is not enough to plead that he was "a Haileybury man." So were Sir Bartle Frere, and many another self-possessed and urbane gentleman. To Valets-de-chambre

John Lawrence was not acceptable. Yet it may be safely asserted that, since Warren Hastings, Indian work has never developed a better administrator, or one who set himself to his tasks with a clearer head or a stronger will. Were administration one of the fine arts, to be learned in ladies' bowers and practised for amusement, it might be right to maintain the picturesque at the expense of the practical, to look rather to the smoothness of the present than to the stability of the future, to rule by love rather than by fear. But if men are still weak, and often wicked, and if rulers have to form, educate and establish, then a more repressive method is unavoidable; and, in place of practising an art, we must studiously pursue a science. It is the ignoring of this distinction, perhaps, that has caused the Irish difficulty of our days; and the two great brethren of whom we are now taking note are certainly a startling illustration of its reality. You cannot rule a conquered country in the spirit of le Roi d' Yvetot.

John Lawrence began his independent career early, being placed for a time in sole charge of the Pánipat District, while yet nominally Assistant to the Magistrate and Collector of Dehli. Returning to head-quarters after two years of this trying experience, he never swam in corks again. He was given the charge of a subdivision and of the turbulent metropolis of the Mughals, and did special good service there in administering relief operations during the terrible famine of 1837-38.

After some changes (including a three years' furlough to Europe) he found himself in sole command of the Dehli district and its resources on the outbreak of the first Punjab war. In the early part of 1846 the army had exhausted its ammunition, in the bloody and almost indecisive battles of Mudki and Firozshahr; and the magazine at Dehli was its nearest source of supply. The problem was to get the Ordnance stores from Dehli to Firozpur, a distance of some 250 miles, with the least possible delay. The Governor-General, Sir H. Hardinge, who had made the Collector's acquaintance on the way up in November, placed the whole carriage-question in Lawrence's hands. Without fresh cartridges the army could not stop the Sikhs, but the Ordnance Department had no carts, and did not know how to get them. Such was Lawrence's first great opportunity, and he was not the man to neglect it. "By personal influence," we are told, "by judicious treatment, by good and certain payment," in short, he did more than any one man to win the battle of Sobraon, and beat down the crapulous crew of prostitutes and prœtorians who held a precarious but bloody sway in the Punjab.

A mixed system of administration succeeded in which Lawrence bore part, first as Commissioner of the Jalandar Doáb, and presently as Member of the ill-fated Board already mentioned. Revenue-science got the better of romantic philanthropy; the "hard man" rose to the hard work; and the two brothers parted, each to leave his mark on the Province. If Sir Henry bequeathed his legacy in the shape of loyalty among the native chiefs and the loving memory of his English disciples, it must not be forgotten that his brother's Dictatorship of five years fostered those material resources which enabled him in 1857 to precipitate the fall of Dehli from Lahore, as he had formerly precipitated the fall of Lahore from Dehli; and so to hasten the collapse of the most alarming attack that has hitherto menaced the power of Britain in the far East. So that, in estimating the brothers, it must never be forgotten that if John's system left the greater monument of practical statesmanship, it was Henry who formed the best of the instruments by the aid of which it was constructed. The Chief Commissioner has been likened to Cromwell; and in no respect did he more resemble that solitary Hercules than in a stern self-trust that attracts no attachment and forms no school. The minds of men are more impressed by the influence of a large and loving nature than by the most provident and energetic qualities of mind. The great and blameless acquisition of the Empire on the North-West limit was, indeed, completed by the head of one brother co-operating with the other's heart.

Foremost among the followers of Henry Lawrence was John Nicholson, a man whose splendid heroism outstrips the most ardent panegyric, and who, perhaps for that very reason, was ill-suited to win the favor of a strong-willed chief. In March 1857 Nicholson was Deputy Commissioner of a frontier district. His Commissioner—Sir H. Edwardes, then on leave of absence in Calcutta—received a letter from him, in that month, in which were contained the following sentences:—

"I wish to leave the Punjab...it is better for me to leave the Punjab while I can do so quietly...I am not ambitious, and shall be glad to take any equivalent for a first class Deputy Commissionership. I should like to go to Oudh, if Sir Henry would like to have me. It would be a pleasure to try and assist him; but if he would rather not bring in Punjabees, do not press it upon him. What I should like best of all would be, if we could get away together." From these last words it would seem as if Edwardes was no less dissatisfied than his subaltern.

Exactly six months after expressing these discontents, Nicholson fell in the storm of Dehli, a General leading his troops; and his epitaph was written by the very chief whom he had been wishing to "leave quietly" before that chief crushed him. Such misunderstandings may occur between subordinate and superior, even when both are brave and capable beyond ordinary measure.

Nicholson came to India, as a "cadet" very early in life, having had but little of what is called "education." He served in a Regiment of Native Infantry during the Cabul campaign of 1841, and was taken prisoner by the Afghans. At the end of the war he returned to his corps—then stationed at Meerut—and soon after obtained the Adjutancy. In the beginning of 1846 he was transferred to the Commissariat, so that he and John Lawrence were employed at one and the same time in not very dissimilar duties. He was next sent to Cashmere to instruct the Raja's troops, and the selection was made by Henry Lawrence. But the Raja did not really wish to have his troops instructed; and Nicholson, finding that his duties were "merely nominal," threw them up at the end of six months. He was next sent to Lahore, during the provisional arrangements of 1847, and here began his civil career as Assistant to the British "Resident." When Agnew and Anderson were killed at Multan, Nicholson had got to Peshawur, where for the first time, he found a suitable field for his "almost invincible" spirit. To say that he was a good man for the ordinary routine of an Indian "Kucherry" would be ridiculous; he was irregular even to lawlessness, neglecting "Regulations" and "Circular Orders"—those divine ordinances and laws—and throwing reprimands into a waste-paper basket at his feet. But he had a boldness and originality which it was the fashion of those days to call a "noble reliance on the God of his fathers," and which, in modern parlance, would perhaps be called a reliance on "the Daemon in his own breast." It comes to the same in the end.

After doing all that he could for his own district, he joined the intelligence department of Gough's army, and was present on the fields of Chilianwala and Gujrat. He did not approve indiscriminately of all that the army did. During the latter part of this campaign the British soldiery brought discredit on their race and on the Government by a good deal of plundering. Earnestly did Nicholson pray for the powers of a Provost-marshal, that he might cure this distemper by the remedy of hemp.

On his return to civil duty Nicholson received a letter of advice from Sir Henry, and it is interesting to see how the fiery subaltern received the advice of the fiery chief; for it is only great natures who can thus impart and receive experiences. "Let me advise you," wrote Lawrence, "to curb your temper, and bear and forbear with Natives and Europeans. Don't think it necessary to say all you think to every one. The world would be one mass of tumult if we all gave candid opinions of one another." Nicholson replied, saying, "I am not ignorant of the faults of my temper, and I do endeavour to overcome them. My temper is a very excitable one, and wants a good deal of curbing. A knowledge of the disease is said to be half the cure, and I trust the remaining half will not be long before it is effected."

Soon after this singularly characteristic correspondence, Nicholson went on furlough; but he did not spend the time in mere amusement or recreation. After travelling a while in Egypt and Austria, and failing in a quixotic attempt to deliver Kossuth from confinement, he went on to St. Petersburgh, and saw there, and subsequently at other Continental capitals, reviews of large bodies of troops. Returning to India in 1851, he brought with him a specimen of the Prussian needle-gun, a weapon now improved upon, but far ahead, at that period, of the fire-arms of other nations. For the next five years the round man fills, as best he can, the square hole of District duty. He was in much hot water. His superiors disapproved, naturally enough, of his irregular and summary methods. A fanatic attempted his life, but Nicholson took the law into his own hands. The following is the text of the report made on the occasion:—

"Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that I have just shot a man who came to kill me.

Your obedient servant,

John Nicholson."

But the wild hill-men worshipped him, for the most part, associating such rapid readiness with a sense of religious awe. There was a sect of *faqirs* calling themselves after his name. One of their traditions is, or was, that, after having cut off a man's head, "Nikal Sen" found that he had made a mistake, and put the head on again; on which the man made a bow and walked home highly satisfied and honoured.

At the moment when the tension between the Chief Commissioner and Nicholson was becoming too strained to endure, all fear of a rupture was quieted by that otherwise disquieting event, the Sepoy Mutiny. When Neville Chamberlain became Adjutant-General the command of the "movable column" in the Punjab seemed to devolve on Nicholson almost as a matter of course, and by universal acclamation. The result was rapid and brilliant. Victorious in the well planned action of Trimmu Ghât, he soon put down all immediate disturbance in the Punjab. In August he went to the siege of Delhi, taking with him John Lawrence's last reserve. "He was a man," they found there, "cast in a giant mould with massive chest and powerful limbs, an expression ardent and commanding, with a dash of roughness;—a long black beard and a sonorous voice. There was something of immense strength, talent, and resolution in his whole gait and manner. An imperial air that might have been thought arrogance in one of less imposing mien sometimes gave offence to his more unbending countrymen, but made him almost worshipped by the pliant Asiatics." (Kaye.)

The portrait in the Dehli Institute, painted (apparently) by a native artist from a photograph, gives a softer air to the head than would be expected from this description. But the look of talent and of resolution is there, and so is the long black beard which was so characteristic of the man at a time when almost every one else shaved clean upon the chin. The rest of the story is known to most of reading mankind. After leading his men through the breach—a mixed band from the 75th Foot, the 1st Bengal Fusileers and the 2nd Punjabees—he reformed them near the Main Guard. Turning up a narrow lane behind the walls, he marched through all resistance till the Cabul Gate was reached and captured. An advance was next made in the direction of the Burn-bastion. Here—as in other scenes where mixed detachments have been employed—indecision was shown by the men before a breast-work, and the fire of one well-served gun upon the ramparts that ran parallel to the line of advance. In waving and calling on his men, Nicholson became a mark to countless enfilading muskets from the neighbouring windows and was soon shot down. Taken back to camp, he lingered for several days, sending from his pallet bold words of counsel and courage to the leaders of the army. All that is left of him on earth now is the monument in the small cemetery outside the walls, a tablet showing where he fell, and a record by the Punjab Government that, without him, Dehli might not have been taken.

Another officer equally distinguished for his gallantry in the field, and more suited to succeed in civil office, was the late Sir James Outram. A copious Memoir has been recently produced by Sir F. Goldsmid, the earlier part of which has been the subject of a notice by Mr. Boulger in these pages.* That leaves but little to be said here. Over Outram's grave in Westminster Abbey are cut the words "The Bayard of India," first applied to him by his famous foe, Sir Charles Napier, in an after dinner speech. Few comparisons can be more infelicitous than that between the Indian soldier-statesman and the French *hobereau* of the time of Francis I. The "Chevalier Bayard" was an aristocratic swashbuckler (named Pierre du Terrail) who pervaded the early part of the sixteenth century, fighting hand-to-hand with Spanish and Italian knights, entirely disconnected with politics or civil employ, and never rising higher than the command of a hundred horsemen. Outram was a Scottish plebeian, who rose chiefly in political duty, and who—when it came to fighting—seldom wielded any more formidable weapon than a thick stick or a lighted cheroot; a leader, on occasion, of large bodies of men, but much given to writing minutes and pamphlets. He was like the medæval Frenchman in being brave, in which respect he might also be likened to Cæsar Borgia, Richard III., and many another; but he was bent by application to desk-work, not much acquainted with high society, very domestic in his habits, the husband of one wife.

---

* *V. C. R.* for April 1881, p. 239.

Like many other original and earnest men he had scant indulgence from "the official mind." As his biographer gently puts it:—"Outram eventually triumphed, and his triumph completes the moral lesson of his life in its fitness for the study of rising generations. But a less strong man than he might have sunk under like circumstances. Should this be?" Most independent readers will reply in the negative. The survival of the fittest is a stern reality; but it is just one of those respects in which man has not hitherto thought it meritorious to imitate Nature. Moreover, what may be fittest for ordinary times is not the fittest for times of trial. Had the Napiers and the Ellenboroughs succeeded in driving Outram out of the service—even out of political employ—the whole subsequent course of Anglo-Indian history must have been deeply and injuriously affected.

There were, however, two somewhat inconsistent tendencies in Outram, which must have given some advantage to the Philistines. One was the tendency to justify himself at excessive length whenever he was reproved by authority: the other, was a disregard of his own interests most surprising in one otherwise remarkable for sense and shrewdness. He did the creatures of the hour too much honor by arguing with them; forgetting that they were only acting after their kind, and that their censure was hastening to the same limbo that awaited themselves. But it was his nature to be strenuous in all things. Much of his very courage must have come from an unselfishness which seems hard to reconcile with an excess of sensitiveness to blame; and yet they did co-exist in him, as they have in many another man. Whatever his hand found to do was done with all his might; and no form of resistence or repression acted upon him otherwise than as a powerful stimulant. Such a character is, indeed, worthy of all admiration and cannot be too constantly held up as a pattern to a sordid, hypocritical age like our own. When, on entering the Oudh territories with the relieving column in August 1857, he waived his army rank and put himself under

Havelock as a simple volunteer, Outram did more than pay a graceful courtesy to a deserving comrade; for he sacrificed all immediate prospect of hereditary title and a pension—things that he might well have valued, for his family if not for himself. Yet all that he could find to say about the matter afterwards, in the face of a public roused to a noble recognition of his noble conduct was this:—"People have made too much of it. I had the chance of attaining the highest object of my ambition, the Victoria Cross," of which highest object be it added, he was after all, deprived by official pedantry, though no man in the army had a better right to the decoration. Such was Outram, not perhaps much like Peter du Terrail, otherwise Chevaliar Bayard; but a good, honest, intrepid Saxon of the Wellington type, whom his country will long remember, with love and honor, among the first of the heroes of her Indian services.

Such men have been produced in comparatively large numbers by the creative environments of the situation. These, indeed, are not uniformly beneficial. The opinion of Herr v. Moltke as to the effiect of Algerian warfare on the French officers is well known; he thought that it tended to demoralise those who saw no other sort of service. Indian service sometimes has a similar tendency on the British who belong to it. Men who have made a great figure on that stage almost invariably collapse when they get home. In Eastern life the medium is too unresisting, in average times, to render success there an unfailing test of merit The people ruled by the administrator, the army encountered by the General, do not show sufficient opposition to call out the best qualities. Yet there have been tasks of a harder kind to deal with; and, whether or not they may have proved too much for those who have dealt with them, these latter have gained enormously both in strength and inflexibility. And two, at least, of our Indian celebrities have gathered laurels elsewhere, after leaving India. The "Sepoy General," Arthur Wellesley, lived to beat down and eclipse the great soldier who sneered at him; and Charles Metcalfe was the first man who really did any permanent good to British America.

It is therefore evident that there occurs from time to time in the camps and councils of India something which not only does not demoralise the British official there, but greatly raises his level. *Terrarum donimos evehit at Deos.*

But there has, alongside of this stream of greatness, always run a modest rivulet of another, and perhaps a more enduringly beneficent, kind. While the "noble palm" has exercised its elevating power on some, there have been others who have been "mingled with Gods above by the ivy-wreath prize of learning." Horace has elsewhere spoken of the great gain that lies hidden beneath the apparently blighting light of Melpomene's favour :—

> "The man whom the Muses have smiled on at birth
> May never illumine the Bench or the Bar,
> Get a kite's tail of honors for statesmanly worth,
> Or be thanked by the Senate for conquest in war—
> No ; but gardens and woods of the beautiful Thames,
> And the great Queen of cities, may echo his praise ;
> And his name may be ranked with the favourite names
> Of writers whose charm has turned envy to praise."

This thesis has been illustrated in British India by Sir William Jones, by Lord Macaulay, by Mountstuart Elphinstone, by H. M. Elliot, H. Torrens, John Muir, E. Thomas, H. H. Wilson, and by others of whom some are still living. And it would be a great error to suppose—as the official mind is too apt to do—that such men have necessarily been unprofitable servants whose efficiency for the public good has been impaired by their knowledge and their accomplishments. Jones was one of the most learned and industrious judges that ever sat on an Indian Bench ; Macaulay's memory claims three-fourths of the credit due to the best Penal Code in the world ; Elphinstone was the unpaid Counseller of Indian affairs for two generations and the only member of the services between Warren Hastings and the Lawrence's who was ever offered the post of Governor-General.* Elliot was Lord Dalhousie's Foreign Secretary ; and, if Torrens never rose higher than the post of Resident at Murshidabad, it was greatly due to the hostility of a "Bengal ring" of officials who disliked his candour and penetration, and who, by averting the sunshine of prosperity and promotion, turned Apollo's Bay into the likeness of a barren fig tree.

Instances such as these—and many more might be quoted—raise two questions, indeed. It is not only possible to doubt whether the literary spirit is any drawback to a public man's efficiency, but it is a further question whether it is not always a degradation for the man possessed by that spirit to become a mere official or descend into the arena of public life. This latter question was constantly put to himself by Macaulay, who ultimately decided it for the benefit of mankind (in his own case) by giving up office and Parliament, that he might go on with his history. M. Maxime Ducamp has also called attention to the matter in his *Recollections* : speaking of the state of France in 1848, and of the presence of Lamartine and others of his kind in the Cabinet and the Chamber, he winds up as follows :—

---

* "A great and accomplished man as any I have known." [Macaulay's life, etc, II. 404.]

"What memory would be so precise and so puerile as to name the ministers whom France has worn out during the past fifty years? What memory so obtuse and so dull as not to know the poets and great artists? But to be content with being only a simple man of genius requires, perhaps, a superior modesty, and a sense that the most exquisite gifts weaken and wither in the exercise of certain functions."

Scattered over Macaulay's correspondence* in Mr. Trevelyan's charming Biography, lie frequent references to the advantages of a life of private study over one passed in public callings. Rich in humour, romance, memory, and expression, Macaulay wanted that complete aptitude for mundane experience which gives a man true flexibility and impartiality. † But he tried both kinds of life, and with a strenuous exercise of ability that enabled him to reach the summit in both. After being a Member of Council in India, a Commissioner in Bankruptcy and a Cabinet Minister at home, he deliberately returned to his study to devote the rest of his life to a great literary effort, such as he had meditated for twenty years.

The pedants of law and of business will agree with Lord Macaulay, though from a different point of view. They like to get rid of the merest suspicion of genius among their ranks, not for the sake of genius but rather from fear of it. When Sir A. Cockburn died lately, the *Standard* reminded us, with a somewhat sardonic air, that it had been said of Brougham that "if he had known a little law, he would have known a little of everything." The late Chief Justice of England was a far greater lawyer than Brougham; and he might be defended from such sneers by the reply that those who indulge in them, if they did not know a little law, would know nothing.

Men of genius in such positions are the severest critics of themselves. They see too clearly to be deceived. One of the greatest of literary lawyers thus expressly refers to the danger of the attempt to combine technical dexterity with breadth of culture :—

"What has always given me a bad opinion of myself is that there are so few positions in public life for which I should have been really fitted. As for my work, as a Judge, I know that my heart is quite upright: I have always had a fair comprehension of my cases in themselves; but as to forms and regulations, I have never been able to make anything of them. Yet I have taken pains to do so; and what has most of all disgusted me has been to see in blockheads the very talent which, so to speak, escaped myself."

---

* *Life and Letters.* In two Volumes. London, 1876.

† "Macaulay might have been as much of a Whig... as he chose, if he had had in his composition more of the man of the world, and less of the man of the study." II. *Life and Letters*, p. 180.

So wrote Montesquieu, when Chief of the Provincial Court of Bordeaux: a great jurist, the founder of philosophical history, but, in his own opinion, not altogether successful as a Judge. The habits of mind engendered by such studies as those which resulted in the *Esprit des Lois* were not altogether such as to fit him for his duties on the Bench. He saw official details better dealt with by blockheads *(des bêtes)*. Yet some words are added which seem to show the creeping in of a little irony into this tirade of self-condemnation:—

"From the moment," proceeds the President, "that my writings took, officials cooled towards me: I underwent a thousand rebuffs. It can only be supposed that, being inwardly hurt by one's celebrity they avenge their own feelings by seeking to humiliate one. In truth, one must have a certain consciousness of merit to endure even praise from such people with patience."

Public men of this kind are rare; and their appearance is discouraged by the conditions of modern life. Their tendency is to get as much as they can out of this unsatisfying world of ours. They try to make the best of it, not only for themselves but for those around them. But unhappily those around them are not always willing to be helped, at least in their way. The world has its own notions of what it wants, and expects from Ariel the work of Caliban. A superior man in the public service is not only doing work that might often be done equally well by a cheaper instrument, he is on the road to effacement and destruction. He is not only apt to be the victim of calumny from routineers who resent his superiority; he is likely to be misunderstood by a surface-judging public. He may be loyal and (as Montesquieu says) upright; faithful, not alone to the official hierarchy, but—what is a rarer and greater thing—faithful to the cause of the people for which the hierarchy exists. But, so long at least as he is among us, he may be less distinguished than the soulless drudge who cannot see beyond the four walls of his court or office. It is when such men go that we begin to appraise them justly. The mere official, with nothing to lean on but his post despises those graces that give true influence and lasting fame. Such men do nothing, but what they call "their duty," and, from defects of nature and of training, fail to do even that to the best advantage. Mankind have been to them but the crude material of their bungling operations: the sweep of their ignorance has been encyclopædic; they affect to look down upon desert from the artificial elevation of a monumental dulness; they pass away, leaving behind them a scene of ruin and an atmosphere as of exploded torpedoes. It is to such men that India owes the less successful part of her story; her debts and burdens, the destitution of her children and the œcumenical ludicrousness of her finance.

Since, however, it is possible that the administration of British India may, for some time to come, be partly liable to be affected by these mechanical officials (for like will employ like) it is to be feared also that originality will continue to have a rough time in the public service. A man who passes his leisure in frivolity or in vice (*v.* Ali Baba's *Secretary to Government*), is not regarded as playing truant from that sacred territory of dogma and cooked statistics wherein the official mind finds its Paradise. But an uphill path awaits him whose pleasures are mental, and his thoughts free; who does his work with trained faculties, admits nothing as fact until it has been duly established, and even then holds most questions open; who works for the people as much as for his immediate employers.

Some men there are, and have ever been, full of faults, it may be, they also; but, for all that, men who can commit, with impunity, this species of *lèse* Bumble. But Bumble has resented it with all his might; and it has been the men of action, rather than the men of thought, who have succeeded in overbearing his resentment. The course of even these men, especially in the earlier part, has not been smooth; and in the case of the other class—the men of thought—the difficulties have sometimes proved insurmountable.

On the whole, it must be said that, although there may be nothing that a "cocktail" can do which cannot be done better by a thorough-bred, yet to employ the one to do work that is well suited to the other, is a waste of power. Even if we are sure that Pegasus can draw a straight furrow, there is so much that is more appropriate for him to do that it will scarcely be wise to enter Pegasus for a ploughing match. If the man of genius does happen to be so misplaced, let him remember the sentiment thus expressed by a French writer*:—

"What is usually the best thing for a man of letters, who is also a man of honour, yet has undertaken public employments, is to find himself—after getting quit of them—still possessed of the same resources for his support by his own labor that he had before he took them up."

---

* Ginguené, quoted by M. Ducamp—*ubi sup.*

And even should he never shake them off, or live to revisit his appropriate pastures, on the slopes of Parnassus, so dear to his youth, he may yet console himself in the spirit of the exiled Roman poet*:—

> "Bereft of country, home, and you, O friends,
> And all the world can take away of bliss,
> I still enjoy the cheer my own thought lends,
> No earthly ruler's power extends to this."

Having thus reviewed the past of the Indian services, it only remains for us to make a brief estimate of what is possible for their future. And here we must discriminate between two distinct classes of employment. For military command, as for that peculiar executive duty of the civil officer which in India includes something of the military character, European employés will probably long be needed, and will enjoy, almost or quite, a monopoly of the more responsible appointments. To all who understand the question the reasons of this must be obvious. It may be that great wars and grave political convulsions are not in the immediate future of British India—though who can say? A great change has undoubtedly taken place within the last thirty or forty years. Wild countries present to their conquerors the exact amount of difficulty which these—if practical man—find their best touch-stone. The nature of the case, as we have already had occasion to observe, is what draws out their qualities and almost ensures success. Yet, long after the conquest has been consolidated, it may still require the control of a powerful personality and the qualities of the heart may continue to be more essential than those of the head for its administration. It would be as easy to restore the astronomy of Hipparchus as to persuade the public mind that nomination was a better system than competition for the first appointment of Indian officers, military or civil. Great as were the merits of such lights of the old system as those mentioned above, it cannot be denied that they shone out upon a background of general obscurity. A man of mediocre attainments was the average "cadet" or "writer," well-meaning and zealous, but one who would have hardly earned butter to his bread in any other calling. And below the average was an abyss of indolence and ignorance such as was only to be expected in services whose members were appointed without proof of merit and maintained without reference to conduct.†

It was to cure such evils that the new system was introduced. In the early debates on the subject in 1853, Macaulay uttered speculations which may not have been altogether realized, but were certainly wise and generous:—

---

* Ovid (*Tristia.*)

† There was even a residuum of ots, lunatics, and dolts. Instances might be named: but it is better to dismiss them with an *in pace*.

"If I understand," said he, "the opinions imputed to Lord Ellenborough, he thinks that the proficiency of a young man in those pursuits which constitute a liberal education is not only no indication that he is likely to make a figure in after life but that it positively raises a presumption that he will be passed by those whom he overcame in those early contests. * * * But it seems to me that there never was a fact proved by a larger mass of evidence, or a more unvaried experience than this, that men who distinguish themselves in youth above their contemporaries almost always keep, to the end of their lives, the start which they have gained...... Take down in any library the Cambridge Calendar. There you have the list of honours for a hundred years. Look at the list of wranglers and of junior optimes; and I will venture to say that, for one man who had in after life distinguished himself among the junior optimes, you will find twenty among the wranglers...... The general rule is, beyond a doubt, that the men who were first in the competition of the schools have been first in the competition of the world." Later on (in the *Report* of the following year) he explained himself more fully, showing that the object of the system was not to "hold out premiums for knowledge of wide surface and of small depth...... But the youth who does best what all the ablest and most ambitious youths about him are trying to do well will generally prove a superior man."

If this great writer was led into an extreme of enthusiasm about the value of his own pursuits, that can only be taken as a further proof of what every one knew already, *viz.*, that there was a great deal of human nature in him as in us all. It may be true that qualities that make a man great as an Edinburgh Reviewer, a Parliamentary Orator, even a Historian, are not necessarily those which will make the best commandant of corps of Bhils, or Deputy Commissioner of Peshawur. Such men as were the best of the old services may not have always had literary tastes or talents. They (it may be further argued) will come to India no more. The mixture of docility and self-reliance that produced a Lawrence or an Outram may be found in men of various characters and antecedents. It may be met with in "plucky" dunces who have got by chance into trying positions. It may be met with among modest men of genius who have developed late and learned to measure their tasks with the insight of originality. But there is one class in which it will be nearly vain to look for it, namely, the class of youngsters who have just succeeded far enough to make them conceited, and yet have not laid up resources for future emergency.

All this may be true; yet two things remain. You cannot return to nomination; and if you could, it would do no good. The average—the general level of fitness—has been raised by educational competition; and that competition is well-suited to produce the men demanded by the present conditions of the problem. Formerly the work of India was either in bad hands, when it was not done at all; or it was in exceptional hands, for whom nothing was too difficult. In this latter case the very difficulty constituted the best of educations. That old formative character, the work of India has to a great degree lost: and the reign of Law being substituted for that of personal qualifications, these latter are no longer either required or developed. *Autres temps autres mœurs*; we do not want heroes to preside over drainage-committees or decide book-debts. Yet, in so far as duties of what may be called the heroic sort survive, or are even possible, it may be as well, that the old British qualities should be, to some extent at least, ensured. A Bengali Colonel could never lead Pathans, or a Tam'ul Collector rule a Sikh population. We ought never to forget that Britain owes it to herself and to the world to give India the verybest administration compatible with the means at her command. People sometimes speak as if the Natives of the country had "a right" to the best positions in the service. But that is not so. It might be more correct to argue that the people of a conquered country have no absolute rights; though it may be a duty for their conquerors to do all that is needed to maintain the conquest with security and honour. A good administration will be a great part of such duty. But this, until the Asiatic character is much altered, can only be ensured by entrusting the control to properly trained Europeans. Once more, it is by the heart rather than the head that this kind of work will be best performed. When the late Mr. Tucker was consulted, as Chairman of the Court of Directors, on the plan of giving "writerships," to be contended for as prizes in public schools, he shrewdly replied that the ordinary employments of Indian service did not demand a very high culture. He quoted Goldsmith, and spoke of the absurdity of using razors to cut blocks withal. And in fact the mind should not be too acute that has to be "made up" fifty times in a day, to put itself boldly into the hands of superiors for instruction and into the hands of subordinates for execution. It may be necessary, ordinarily, to select the candidates for this part of the administration, from among successful schoolboys, though it may be hoped that good soldiers will still keep a share of employment, and that Munro and Malcolm, Outram and H. Lawrence and Durand may still find occasional representatives. But a close service, recruited from Europe, must still, in all probability, continue for some time to form the chief nursery of executive officials.

In regard, however, to the work of the Bench, this has not been shown to be the case. It was long the opprobrium of India that judicial employment was largely reserved for men not thought fit for anything else. Of late years a significant change has shown itself. One Provincial Governor makes judges of young officers who are supposed to show a special fitness for that kind of work. Another goes further and endeavours to increase their fitness by special training. In three High Courts distinguished Native pleaders have been promoted to seats on the Bench, and one Asiatic Barrister was for some time a District Judge in Oudh, until he obtained still higher preferment under an enlightened foreign Government. For those who, from mere pride of race, feel indignant at the admission of Natives to such high posts, no sympathy is demanded. The pride of race which keeps a man's hands clean and his heart pure, is a noble pride and full of promise for human needs. But the pride of the Spartan at home among his Helots, the pride that says no good thing can come out of Galilee, is a shameful blindness which is inconsistent with modern thought and civilisation. One of the most remarkable things about the position of the British in India is that, ever since the country was directly submitted to the Royal rule, the people have become more and more peaceful and loyal. Let their first reward be the privilege of being judged by their peers; the London selection by competition—shown by experience to be almost entirely entered for by Europeans—be limited to a minimum number of men requisite for executive work, and then throw judicial employment open to competition in India, a test of fitness in work, rather than fitness at examinations, a rivalry not of boys but of men. Picked men from the bar would, as is now partly the case, find their way to the lower benches, and all the more if they knew that these were the only stepping-stones to those above. And, as a matter of course, let the judicial "line" be wholly separate from the very first. Keeping the members of the administrative service, and those military men who succeed in finding their way into it, solely to administrative employment. That is the idea of the system in the Bombay Presidency, and no complaints have come before the public as to the way in which it works. In the Punjab, too, it has been found necessary to appoint to many districts special judicial officers, who relieve the administrative officers of all, or nearly all of the judicial work.

Division of labour is not felt to be a necessity in the simpler stages of society. Under the old English system the Witena Gemot was—as Blackstone reminds us—not only the legislative assembly but the Supreme Court of justice. Then came the *Aula Regis* under the Normans, of which we see a faint trace, in the modern Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.* But the separation of Governmental from judicial business, and their allotment to different bodies, are "refinements," as Blackstone says, "of a later and more civilised" age. Even to the present day the writs of Courts-of-record continue to run in the Queen's name. So in the origin of the Anglo-Indian system the Chief Courts of the Presidency consisted of the Governor and two Members of Council. As the evolution of Society proceeds, it becomes apparent that the judicial functions are at least as distinct from those that are purely administrative as they are from the machinery of legislation. Indeed, it may be said, that judges continue to have a share in law-making long after they cease to be administrators. Coming down lower in the official hierarchy we find that in many parts of India the chief administrators of Districts, though still called "Magistrates," have practically divested themselves of magisterial duty. What has been thus instinctively done, requires to be completed by authoritative sanction. When the district officer is recognised as a simple ruler, his position will become more useful, as well as more decorous. No longer appearing as a party in Courts nominally controlled by himself, he will fall into his true place as sub-prefect; the ultimate custodian of life, property, and public tranquillity, the final link in the financial and fiscal chains. He will then fitly represent in his limited area the benevolent power of the Crown in Parliament; and will administer,—even more clearly than did the brave old servants of the Great Company,—*auspicio Regis et Senatus Angliæ*.

To sum up: the conditions of conquest necessitated the existence of conquerors; a set of men something like Cortez and Pizarro, though with certain better qualities, as suited the rather better times. When conquest was concluded—which was not until after 1857—the conditions changed. Instead of the crusader or the buccaneer, the Secretary and the Magistrate became requisite. *Non defensoribus istis tempus eget:* the self-taught, self-helping hero, and the vagabond dunce, must stay in England, or seek their fortune in the rough work of the Bush. What India may now fairly expect from Britain is well-educated, well trained men, to steer her course until her own sons have qualified themselves to act as pilots. It must be the office of intelligent and rightly improved opinion to mark the rocks, shoals, or currents that may beset her course. One can then do no more than express his best wishes for her safe and happy navigation.

H. G. KEENE.

---

* *The Communia Placita non sequentur Curiam nostram* is a clause in the *Great Charter*.

ART. II—THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY OF BENGAL AND UPPER INDIA.

THE following is substantially a continuation of two essays which appeared successively in the pages of this review. One, entitled "Caste in India from a native point of view," appeared in the number for October 1880, and the other, headed "Our joint-family organisation," in October last year. In the present essay it will be my endeavour, first of all, to show, with reference to the Hindu law and the village communities of Upper India, the communal character of our property in general. Indeed, if I have taken the right view of the facts, property with us was at first, *i.e.*, so far as written records go, common to the public, and so much so as to ignore the existence of private property altogether. Subsequently, however, a distinction between private and common property was developed, as it would seem, through a strong attachment for the family tie. But even now the idea of private property as belonging absolutely to an individual does not seem to be quite cleared up.

In showing the above, I shall have to place before the reader accounts of a class of village communities which apparently conflict with the provisions of the Hindu law, but seem to me to be a survival of an older order of things. I allude to what is called the Bhaiachara tenure in reports and law books. I shall next show, with reference to the foregoing, and a few more facts bearing upon what may be called the structure of Indian villages and disposition of village lands, that there is a homogeneity between the village communities of Upper India and those of other countries in and out of Asia on the one hand, and, on the other, between the former and the villages of Bengal. But it also seems to me, with reference to the Hindu law of inheritance, and the traditions and usages about what is called the Gotra, that the parallel between village life in and out of India, so far as traceable by authentic evidence, would be stronger still in respect of a class of communities which may have existed in India in the past. I mean Gotra communities. And I may mention at the outset, that in this connexion I shall have to enter into a short controversy to show that the traditions of a common lineage in existing village communities have to be discussed with reference to those of what is called the Gotra.

Taking now the whole range of the subject thus expanded,—Gotra communities of India, the village communities of other countries besides India, and those of Upper India and Bengal,—I shall endeavour to trace the origin of and the difference between two important functions of these societies—governmental and agricultural;—how they have become differentiated and have affected the landed rights, and how they have caused a distinction between two sections of our community: one holding a relatively superior position, and the other, like the serfs of other countries, owing labor-service to the first. I shall then show that the Talookdars and Biswadars of Upper India, the Zamindars of Bengal, the Rajahs of both, the territorial aristocracy elsewhere, and probably also the Dwijas and patricians of old, represent the first of these two sections or strata of society, and that the rayats represent the other. But I am inclined to think that the Hindus have avoided at least some of the evil effects of the social inequality incidental to this evolution, by having omitted to impose any restriction upon immigration into any village from elsewhere. But while this important principle of individual liberty has been maintained, they have deemed it expedient to organise their societies upon stricter rules of franchise than are seen elsewhere, the general result being a series of small autonomous bodies living in rather loose contact with one another, but each sufficiently compact, and forming altogether a fairly constituted organisation.

And, last of all, I shall show that Hindu society furnishes to all the world one most important solution of the question of the functions and relations of the Church and the State. I need hardly mention that I am deeply conscious of the vastness and difficulty of my subject and of my own incompetence to handle it. I am aware also that it requires more than ordinary mastery to condense one's thoughts upon a vast subject like this into the short compass of a review article. But since my powers cannot be expanded further than to write such fragmentary essays, I must crave indulgent forbearance from my readers. I am, besides, but groping in the dark, and must be content if I can only succeed in showing the great students of Indian history, that something may be found out about a region where I feel as if I were being completely lost.

In discussing the nature of the landed tenures of Upper India as they are now found to exist, Mr. Thomason then Collector of Azimgurh, observes:—

"It is of little use to view it (the subject of landed tenure) theoretically, and to refer to the maxims and principles laid down in books of law." He considers "it questionable if they were ever acted upon with any consistency. . . . . and the disuse into which they have fallen, for centuries has practically annulled them." (Settlement Report of Azimgurh, 1837, para 22; Reports on the Revenue Settlement of the North-Western Provinces of the Bengal Presidency under Regulation IX. of 1833. By authority printed at the Medical Hall Press, Benares, 1862. Vol. I., p. 12.)

Mr. Elliot, however, in speaking of the carelessness with which the genealogical tree is usually drawn up by District officers and embodied in settlement proceedings, observes :—

"Another material point has been overlooked, namely, its incompatibility with the law of Hindu inheritance. No regard has been paid to the difference between the rights of severalty and coparcenary, to lineal descent or survivorship." Thus it would seem, for all that Mr. Thomason says, that the maxims and principles laid down in books of Hindu law are not altogether theoretical or obsolete. Oddly enough, however, Mr. Elliot observes in the very next sentence—

"Even the son's interest, in many cases, has been separated from the father's and while it can only be inchoate and contingent, has thus been made absolute and unconditional." (Meerut Report, 1835, para 71, Settlement Reports of North-Western-Provinces, Vol. I., p. 198.)

Mr. Elliot does not seem to be aware that whatever the case may be in the Dayabhag law, the son's portion according to that of the Mitak'hara is not contingent and may be held separate from the father's and become absolute when there has been a partition already made. But, upon the whole, it would seem that the folly of ransacking the Hindu law for the purpose of making a revenue settlement did not lie so much in the divergence visible all over the world between law as it is written, and as it is actually observed, as in the blissful ease which accompanies the wise notion, that any thing not to be found in the Koran, or for the matter of that in Justinian or Hansard's debates, is unfit for study and deserves to be cast into the fire. Mr. Thomason, in the report previously quoted from, enters into some historical facts to illustrate how the proprietary right was found in many cases to be exercised by village communities. If he had turned to the maxims and principles laid down in books of law, he might have noticed the following passage :—

"Does property arise from partition? Or does partition of pre-existent property take place?

Again :—

"Is partition the cause of property, or not? If it be not the cause of property, but birth alone be so, then, since property is by birth, it follows that partition is of property." (Colebrooke's Mitak'hara, Rajendra Misser's Ed., p. 4.)

The great pro-consul and the famous author of the historians of India might then have found it easy to explain the whole mystery of the thing. For to speak from the standpoint of the author of Mitak'hara, it is patent enough that partition is the cause or immediate antecedent of *private* property; and the pre-existent property alluded to was meant only for the *collective* property which belongs to the whole tribe or nation. The people's thoughts being then confined all to their own little world, everything that existed beyond was naturally overlooked: the commonwealth to them was all that is, and what was not the common wealth being unknown, the mystery of property was easily overlooked; nay, from that very circumstance, it appears afterwards to have become equally hard for men like the author of the Mitak'hara to account for the non-recognition of such an obvious fact as property. Moreover, we know from books of law that partition of the kind alluded to does not quite extinguish the collective character of the property. Partition, as noticed in Mitak'hara must, therefore, have served for the first time to define what was one's own, and what was not. And the sense of mine and thine, the origin of property being thus traceable to partition, by the evidence afforded by books of Hindu law, it would have become easy to distinguish between—(1) common public property, of the kind mentioned above; (2) common private property, vested in a coparcenary body, and (3) private individual property.

As the record stands, however, we have the following upon the high authority of Mr. Thomason:—I will not hesitate to make long extracts, for I know that, in addition to their sterling merit as the most reliable evidence available, they will commend themselves as being more readable than my own clumsily worded remarks:—

"44. I have thus endeavoured to show the probable origin of private proprietary right in the land, and of the forms under which it is found to be at present exercised. I will proceed next to classify these forms, and to point out the principal features which characterize them.

"45. The proprietary right in the land may rest either in a single individual, or in a community of people. This community may divide amongst themselves the profits of the estate, either according to their ancestral shares or according to some arbitrary rule having reference to the quantity of land which each member cultivates. Of the two latter tenures the former has been sometimes styled the Zemindary, the latter Putteedaree or Bhyachara. None of these terms have local application. The term Zemindar is generally applied in the district to any one having a proprietary right in the land, whilst Putteedar is restricted to those members of the village community who are not under engagements directly with the Government. The term Bhyachara is not known." (Settlement Reports, Vol. I, p. 20.)

Speaking of the first of the three classes of tenure mentioned above—that in which the proprietary right rests in a single individual—the writer continues:—

"47. All these are evidently liable to partition under the existing laws, in the course of the succeeding generations. The vesting of the entire right in an individual is rather incidental than natural to the tenure." *Ibid*, p. 20.)

Here, then, we see that property, even when vested in a single individual, does not continue long to possess the character of what is understood by private property in Europe. The property is only *liable* to partition, but is not actually subjected to the process in every case. And no provision or custom exists as in European countries for the shares when grown too minute or small in area to be sold off and reconsolidated. The absolute right of the individual over his property is, as a rule, of a temporary, and therefore exceptional, character. The matter, however, is practically simplified by part or whole of the lands being let out to tenants or *asamis*, as they are called; for then the liability to division affects only the rents paid by the tenants, while the troubles of an actual partition are confined to what is called the *sir* land, somewhat akin to the home-farms of English landowners that we have read of.

In Bengal this *sir*—or as it is called here *nij-jot*—land is quite insignificant. Upon this point we shall have to dwell a little longer further on. But it may be noted here that the double rights in land, of the landlord and the tenant are in this country to a certain extent due to the complications arising from our system of collective property, and that the fact should not be ignored in considering the economic conditions of rent.

We next pass on to Mr. Thomason's account of what is called the zamindari tenure in Upper India, as given in his report of the Azimgurh District already quoted from:—

"53. If the proprietary right rests in many members of a village community, they may divide the profits according to their ancestral shares, or according to some arbitrary rule regulated by the quantity of land in the cultivation of each proprietor, or in other words, his sir land.

"54. When the profits are divided amongst the several coparceners according to their ancestral shares, they may or they may not be cultivators of the land, *i e.*, the holders of sir. The simplest form which the case can assume is, when they all live together as a joint undivided family, one person managing the estate for the rest, or appointing a common manager, and dividing the profits at the close of the year. Sometimes they divide the estate, their responsibility continuing joint. Sometimes the cultivators only are divided by the patwaree, each collecting from those assigned to him; and this assignment may take place annually, or, when once made, may continue in force till a re-partition is demanded. There are instances where each person collects from each cultivator the portion of the rent which is his share, but this is very uncommon.

"55. When the proprietors cultivate themselves, the case is rather more involved. If the sir of each parcener bears the same proportion to the total quantity of sir land, that his share does to the whole, the sir may be thrown out of account, and the collections from the assamies divided amongst them according to their shares. This, however, is seldom the case; it is more usual to levy a rate on the sir land, either the same that it would bear if cultivated by assamies, or some other fixed and arbitrary rate, generally a low and favorable one. The village accounts being thus made up, the profits are divided according to the shares. In this case, if the rate levied on the sir land is the same as on the assamies' land, each parcener can take up as much land as he likes as his sir, otherwise there are constant bickerings on the subject, for, of course, the increase of sir cultivation diminishes the rent-roll

"56. When, however, the proprietors live separate, but divide the profits among them, it is by far the most common to divide the estate, and each person to manage his own share as he likes. In course of time, however, inequalities arise either in the quality of the land in one share by superior management, or by the gradual encroachments of one share on the common waste land. This gives rise to violent disputes, some claiming re-partition, others resisting it. These disputes are commonly called in the District, "Kum a beshi," *i.e.*, where the contending parties affirm that the shares are less or more one than another. The man who thinks he has less than his right, claims to pay not according to his ancestral share, but according to his possession. This is not admitted by the other, and default ensues. Estates have thus been often brought to the hammer, at the time when sales by auction were the favourite means of realizing the public demand. Now they constantly lead to attachment of the estate. The only effectual method of terminating such disputes is by re-partition of the whole, presuming, of course, that participation according to ancestral share be an admitted feature of the tenure. Clause II, section XII, Regulation VII, 1822, evidently contemplates cases of this sort, and confers the necessary power on the settling officers." (Settlement Reports, vol. I., pp. 22-24.)

It may not be generally known that a re-partition, somewhat of the same kind, is effected even in the permanently settled lands of Bengal. Some people are given to thinking that society was completely overturned here by Lord Cornwallis, because the communal relations reported in the papers I have been quoting from, were not legally recognised. The truth, however, is that much of these relations is a necessary part of the Hindu law, and could not possibly be discarded, for all the alleged imitation of English landlordism, so long as the joint-family system was maintained, as it is maintained even now. In Bengal, *sir* lands are, as I have said, of no great consequence, but even the lands let out to tenants are partitioned for limited periods, the technical term employed for the purpose (in the part of the country with which I am familiar) being *Hudā bandi*.

A *huda* means a parcel of zamindari lands allotted to a co-sharer for collection of his portion of the rents, until a fresh repartition is made. In some cases the partition is not open to revision, and the *huda* is then called a *pakka huda*. The document for *huda* division does not, so far as I am aware, give metes and bounds, but sets forth the rayats and the amount of rent payable by each, as assigned to the holder of each *huda* for the time being.

Mr. Thomason next passes on to a kind of tenure which, so far as I understand the matter, has, in all probability, chiefly, if not entirely, led him to suppose that the Hindu law is obsolete and useless in furnishing any clue to the actual rights of the people. I am, however, deeply conscious of the objection that the theory I allude to, is an attempt to produce from inference a history which does not certainly exist.

In my previous paper on our joint-family organisation, I took occasion to observe :—"The provision for partition has for its condition precedent a definition of shares as involved in the law of succession," or rather inheritance. "The question, therefore ...... is whether the joint-family organisation ever could or did exist without a definition of shares." Elsewhere it was observed: "When a whole village community worked in common at tillage, there could be no great need for lotting out the lands to smaller groups like the family: the son's coparcenary right would in that case......follow as a matter of course." Now the whole of my argument here, hangs upon the position that the kind of village society which held, as owners, the land-tenures we have been hitherto considering, is the same as the village communities we have read of as existing elsewhere. Mr. Thomason, when Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, promulgated certain Directions for Revenue officers, in which we find, with reference to the land-tenures in question :—

> "85. The coparcenary tenures are the most common and embrace cases where the estates are held by those singularly constituted village communities, which have been so often described, and have been not all unaptly said to form "little republics, within themselves"—(Ed. of 1858, p. 50.)

A foot-note to the above cites a minute by Sir C. Metcalfe, from which Mr. Elphinstone extracts a long paragraph, commencing as follows :—

> "The village communities are little republics, having nearly every thing they can want within themselves and almost independent of any foreign invasions. They seem to last where nothing else lasts, &c."—(Cowell's Elphinstone, 1874, p. 68.)

Now an examination of village communities in other countries will show that one of the essential features of the institution is the periodical repartition of the land held by the community as their collective property. M. Laveleye writes with reference to primitive property in general :—

> "The arable, the pasturage, and the forest are farmed in common. Subsequently the cultivated land is divided into parcels which are distributed by lot among the several families, a mere temporary right of occupation being thus allowed to the individual. *The soil still remains the collective property of the clan*, to whom it returns from time to time, that a new

> partition may be effected. This is the system still in force in the Russian commune; and was, in the time of Tacitus, that of the German tribe."— (Primitive property, p. 4.)

Again, with respect to the Russian commune, we are told :—

> "Each male inhabitant of full age is entitled to an equal share of the land of which the *Mir* is the proprietor. In primitive times there was no partition of the soil, the land was cultivated in common, and the produce divided among all in proportion to the number of laborers in each family. At the present time...some communes.....are found where this system is still in force.... At a later period a partition of the soil was effected every year, or every three years* * * The period of partition varies...in different district * * * Since 1719 there have been ten general re-divisions, the last of which occurred in 1857." (*Ibid*, p. 10.)

It would take me too long to set forth every little analogy that I have been able to note between the village system of India and that of Russia. But it will be easy enough to conceive that where collective ownership is the rule, periodical repartition must be a necessary incident thereof. Now this repartition, as Mr. Wallace's book and that of Mr. Laveleye show, was regulated according to the circumstances of each case by the joint decision of the community. They had no rule of inheritance to go by, for no such rule was required as long as all the coparceners exercised their rights in common, and without the intervention of any independent authority. In course of time, however, the period for which a partition was allowed to stand was gradually prolonged, and ultimately the term became indefinite and subject only to the demand of the community for a repartition. It may thus be fairly conceived that in many cases a partition of a rather too old date became final and absolute by the subsequent enforcement of a law of inheritance, such as the Hindu law sets forth and as has been alluded to in my previous essay. It is here that we perceive the Hindus to have made a new departure in the communal system which, according to Mr. Laveleye, seems to have once prevailed all over Asia and Europe. And it is a singular proof of the aversion of our countrymen for all revolution that even our law of inheritance was never enforced so as to obliterate the traces of a prior order of things. The Settlement Officer records—

> "57. But where the proprietary right rests in a community, the profits of the estate are often enjoyed, not according to the ancestral shares, but according to some arbitrary apportionment on the seer land of each proprietor. This apportionment of profit shows itself in the form of a reduced rate of assessment on the seer land. In such cases the Government revenue is said to be paid or made up by a *buch,h* on the seer. These tenures of course suppose that each proprietor is himself a cultivator, though it may so happen, and sometimes does, that the proprietor is not a cultivator, but has acquired the share by purchase, public or private, from a cultivating proprietor. Where the profits of the estate are

> divided according to ancestral shares, the seer of a zemindar is that which he has under his own cultivation, *i.e.*, which he has cultivated at his own cost, and by his own capital. In tenures, however, of the kind which we are now considering, the word seer acquires, as it were, an artificial meaning. It is that portion of the land in the possession of a sharer on which he pays the bach,h and which, when compared with the total amount of seer in the village, represents his interests in the estate. It depends upon the custom of the estate whether this be all or any part in his actual cultivation, or whether he have any other cultivation in the village than this. Instances are not very common where the sharer cultivates no part of his seer, and they generally arise, as above stated, out of forced or voluntary transfers from cultivating proprietors. It is common, however, for the proprietor to under-let a part of his seer, obtaining from the tenant the full ryottee rates, and paying himself only according to the bach, h. Instances are not common where the proprietors cultivate more than their seer. One singular case deserves special notice:—In Mouzah Oomahpoor, Pergunnah Mhownat-Bhunjun, thirty-six beegahs were set apart in the village, and each sharer's right was determined by the portion of this thirty-six beeghas which he cultivated. It was his seer, but besides this he might cultivate as much more of the village as he liked at the common ryottee rates, and so all the sharers did to a considerable extent. Other instances probably might be found where sharers cultivated the land of other shares, or the common lands of the villages, at the usual ryottee rates, but they do not come permanently *(sic)* into notice."—(N.-W. P. Settlement Report, p. 24, vol. I.)

To my mind it seems that in matters of the kind described above, the Settlement Officer has pushed his English habit of accurate thinking a little too far. The *bachh* admittedly varied in different villages; but is it impossible, that it may also have varied from time to time in the same family or community? After all, where a regular hunt is made for the exact fractional share to which a member of a community is assumed to be entitled as his *private* property, it would be easy enough to make your data as to the arbitrary rule of division out of any facts ordinarily available; such for instance, as that since the last repartition he had been holding so many measures of land out of the aggregate area of the village, or that on the last occasion such and such amount of income or expenditure was divided in such and such parts. Facts like these may as well prove that the ratio calculated has always been recognised, as that it has varied from time to time.

The misconception on the part of the Settlement officers seems to have arisen from assuming that the divergence from the requirements of the Hindu law of inheritance, or in other words, the non-recognition of ancestral shares in cases of the kind under consideration, was due to changes *subsequent* to the promulgation of that law. A comparison, however, with the affairs of village communities elsewhere, and with the essential condition of true communism—distribution according to the needs of the members—will suggest instead, that it was the Hindu law of inheritance which broke through the primitive and older communism.

The following extracts from another Settlement Officer, Mr. Elliot, are cited in support of Mr. Thomason's authority. The classification of the latter has been of late disputed, but the facts will speak for themselves :—

"40. In what I had considered putteedaree, the hereditary interest of individuals will be often, but not always, disregarded ; and possession alone be considered as constituting right. I have said "not always" because in some villages the puttees have been marked off according to the hereditary share, but in others the one bears no proportion to the other. It is difficult to show why in particular villages hereditary right has been set aside. It may have arisen from the partition having taken place during the absence of some of the sharers, or the interest and power of some may have enabled them to assume a larger portion than they would have been entitled to according to the genealogical tree ; however this may have occurred, it is now of little importance to consider, but upon examination it will generally be found as the distinctive feature of the tenure, that proprietary right is limited to actual possession of the land."—(Meerut Settlement, the same book, vol., I., p. 189.)

Mr. Elliot is evidently less prone to theorising than Mr. Thomason.

He then goes on thus :—

42. During the misrule and disorganisation of former Governments, it was necessary for the brotherhood to combine for the purpose of resisting the unlawful encroachments of their neighbours, and the attacks of predatory hordes ; it was not the interest of a party to have his separate share divided off, which could be of no use to him so long as he could not protect it from violence. Union was the only object, and one man was frequently put forward to engage for many villages.

43. Afterwards, when the system of our government afforded protection to the inferior proprietors, they were anxious to come forward to have their shares separated, and to be freed from the authority of the head man of the village. But the most extensive changes have been effected in the tenures through the operations of the surveys and settlements under Regulation VII of 1822. This effect has not, generally I believe, been observed, but in most instances it is easily traced. It has converted Zemindaree into Putteedaree, Putteedaree into Bhyacharee. and undivided bach,h tenures into one or other of the latter ; and though in many respects this division of rights and interests is desirable, yet it has certainly dissolved the harmony of the communites, and created a diversity of conflicting interests ; while a self-sufficient independence, and an exemption from salutary control, have been substituted for mutual reliance and subordination. How far it may be desirable to countenance this total separation of interests deserves consideration, for more evil than good is likely to spring from its accomplishment.

44. Some tribes have a greater inclination for the division of their land than others, and this effect is easily to be ascribed to their peculiar propensities. The Jâts, for instance, on account of their fondness for agriculrural pursuits, generally prefer the Bhyachara. The Tugas, either Bhyachara or divided Zemindaree. The Rajpoots, Puthans, and Syuds, being too insol-

vent (*sic*) or proud to cultivate much themselves, generally prefer the Biswa division ; and the Goojurs, being much addicted to thieving, and more indifferent than any other class, scarcely ever have a Putteedaree division, and very seldom subdivide a Zemindaree. They are usually allowed to resume their own share after a long absence or sojurn in a foreign land, which right would be contested by the other classes, amongst whom the relinquishment of a share, for any length of time, is reckoned a virtual defeasance.—(Do. Do., pp. 189-90.)

58. Where the whole of the land is Seer, in these cases the custom which regulates the payments is called bhaiunsee, in other places it is called Beegahdom ; in both the practice is the same. The payments of the early kists are made according to a long established rate on the Seer land, and towards the close of the year the whole community assemble to audit the accounts. The village expenses are added to the government Jumma, and from the total is deducted the payment of the Ryots, if there are any. The remainder is distributed according to the bach, h upon the owners of the Seer land.

59. This audit of accounts (or *boojharat*, as it is called) is a most important process to the whole of the community. The right of admission to the audit is the criterion of proprietory right. It may so happen that a proprietor has lost his Seer, either from poverty, or its accidental appropriation or destruction. Still he has a voice in the audit, and can claim a scrutiny of the Patwaree's papers. It may so happen that the force or fraud of a part of the community, or of an individual in it, has for a course of years kept some of the community from the audit. Such exclusion is fatal to the possession of the party. He is considered as dispossessed."—*Thomason's Report*, Do., page 25.

The following extract, from a Settlement Report of a comparatively recent date, will show how the spirit of communism works even now, and along with the separation of individual rights as inaugurated by previous settlement operations :—

Among the *Pulteedaree* estates are a few where the tenure is true *Bhyachara*, where profits depend on possession, and not on ancestral descent.

These are all very simple tenures, except in a few villages lying chiefly in the Ramgunga *Khadir*. In these a portion of the area is on the upland, and the rest in the low lying *Khadir*, and liable to constant alterations of area, both in extent and quality. Under these circumstances either all these *Khadir* lands are *Shamlat*, and the proceeds in rents are first appropriated to the payment of *Jumma*, the balance, if any, being made up by a rate on the land held, in severalty ; or the profits, if any, are divided on the old ancestral *Biswa* shares, or else the *Khadir* land is divided annually among the sharers according to ancestral shares. There is thus a kind of double tenure *Bhyachara* in the severalty, and *Zemindaree* in the *Shamlat*, giving rise to constant disputes. In these estates all land gained by alluvion is held to be added to the *Shamlat*, not to the severalty of any proprietor to whose lands the new accretion may adjoin.

The *lumberdars* usually endeavour to lay their hands on the profits of *Shamlat*, if there be any, and to get all new accretions to themselves by cultivating it as soon as possible, and refusing to pay any rent on such cultivation. In this they are often successful through the connivance of the *putwaree.*—(*Moen's Settlement Report of the Bareilly district*, 1874. p. 131.)

It is hard to say whether the connivance of the *patwari*, alluded to above, is not part of the same instinct which is said to impel the more active of the *lumberdars.* A communistic distribution of property is quite naturally uppermost in the minds of those who have to meet the most pressing wants of life, and whose every day life is founded upon the communistic principle. If, then, the patwari connives at what, under law, is robbery, he doubtless lays a soothing unction to his soul by somehow justifying this communistic exploitation in miniature.

The evidence cited above will, I think, have clearly shown, that the same law of inheritance applies as well to the land tenures of Bengal as to the "little republics" of India in general. And I trust that the following extracts will show still more clearly, that the villages of Bengal and Upper India, are perfectly homogeneous in all essential features. The importance of this point arises from this, that I have to bring forward my personal knowledge of village government, or Daladali, in Bengal, in order to establish a connexion between such wide extremes of social life as caste and Hindoo joint family. Though apparently disconnected, the societies of Bengal and Upper India are at bottom homogeneous. The parallel in respect of re-partition has been already noticed, and I pass on to another.

79. The simplest form of an estate is where an individual, or community of individuals, own the whole of a plot of ground lying within certain limits, and bearing a fixed name, as a Mouzah. This may, from time immemorial, have borne a single name, and be generally recognised as such, or it may contain within its area two or more Mouzahs, Uslee, or Dakhilee or both, whose separate boundaries have long been lost sight of, and which have become intermingled so as to form one village, probably bearing the double name.

80. The estate, however, may comprise two or more such Mouzahs, and these may be situated together or at a distance from each other.

81. The ancestors of many of the Rajpoot communities were possessed of large tracts of land containing many villages. As their descendants multiplied, this tract of land was subdivided, and formed into separate mehals. This sub-division sometimes was effected, so as to assign whole Mouzahs to different branches of the family. It was seldom, however, especially when the sub-division was amongst many sharers, that the property could be so divided. In this case, perhaps, some entire Mouzahs were given to each branch of the family, and the inequalities thence arising were made good in the division of some Mouzahs held jointly by all, or else, each Mouzah was divided so that every branch of a family should have a portion. The whole Mouzahs, or portions of Mouzahs belonging to each branch, were collected together, and made into one Mehal or estate. But in the Mouzahs held jointly, the division probably was not in distinct portions, but field by field, or as it is commonly called Khet Bhut. Now these fields sometimes become the subject of sale from one person to another, and the purchaser might call the purchased field by the name of his own Mouzah. It thus happens that many mouzahs in Tuppah Chowree, Pergunnah Deogaon, contain within them fields known by the name of other mouzahs, perhaps two or three miles distant, and have attached to them fields in other mouzahs at an equally great distance. In

> Tuppah Koolpah, Pergunnah Deogaon, the case was still more involved by the circumstance, that sets of fields in several mouzahs belonging to different branches of the family, bore distinct names. This distinction existed sometimes in the Government records, and not in common usage, sometimes in both.
>
> * * * * *
>
> 83. It may be useful to attempt a definition of these two terms, a mouzah, or village, and a mehal or estate.
>
> 84. A mouzah or village, is one or more parcels of land called by a certain name, of fixed limits and known locality, neither of which are liable to change. At the time of settlement, each mouzah has a name and number assigned to it in the Government lists, and must so remain till the ensuing settlement, or till, for any special reason, it should appear fit, under express orders from the Government, to break up or alter the arrangement of the mouzahs.
>
> 85. A mehal or estate, consists of one or more mouzahs, or a part or parts of one or more mouzahs, covered by one engagement with the Government or Durkhaust, and belonging to one individual or body of persons who are jointly responsible for the Jumma assessed upon the whole. These are liable to constant variations, according as transfers of property may take place.—(*Settlement Report, N. W. P., Vol.* 1. pp. 31-33.)

Anyone who understands the interlacing of lands in Bengal or as it is called *chhite jami, benda phonra jami,* or *pital gola jami,* will, I apprehend, at once make out that the structure of the village, or rather the disposition of the village lands, is the same in Bengal as in Upper India.

The following somewhat curious evidence is offered, by way of digression, and partly to strengthen the position advanced of a homogeneity between the village systems of India and those of the rest of the world. It comes naturally while discussing the structure of villages, and has some importance in accounting for the Bhyachara tenure, as a survival of times before the advent of the Hindoo law of inheritance.

First of all, however, we must form a clear conception of the matter from the following account of the Russian Mir:

> All the arable land of the commune is divided into three concentric zones, which extend round the village; and these three zones are again divided into three fields according to the triennial arrangement of crops. More regard is paid to proximity than to fertility, as this varies very little in the same district in Russia. The zones nearest the village are alone manured every three, six, or nine years, in the sandy region; while in the region of the black soil, the use of manure is unknown. Each zone is divided into narrow strips from 5 to 10 mètres broad and from 200 to 800 mètres long; several parcels are combined, care being taken that there should be at least one in each zone and in each division of the rotation. Portions are thus formed, which are distributed by lot among the co-partners.—*Laveleye's Primitive Property*, p. 12.

After this I shall leave it to my readers to judge whether the following account was at all governed by any preconceived notions of analogy between the Russian and the Indian village. I cannot say if the original reports contained any allusion, for I quote at second hand from a book entitled "Memorandum on the Revision of Land Revenue Settlements in the North-Western Provinces, A. D. 1860-1872, by Auckland Colvin, Esq., Secretary, Board of Revenue, North-Western Provinces." I can only regret, but cannot avoid, the technical details, for in a discussion of this kind, I must set forth the fullest evidence before the public.

14. "*Artificial Soils.*"—The cultivating body in this district (Allygurh) use an artificial classification, affected slightly by natural peculiarities in certain kinds only. The principle adopted is not, I believe, peculiar to Allygurh, but is common over most parts of the Doab. It is '*variation of quality with reference to proximity to village site.*' Three broad divisions are acknowledged :—

1.—*Bárah* land, close to the site always manured and generally irrigated, and '*dofuslee*,' or capable of producing two crops in the year.

2.—*Munjah*, the fields a little farther from the site, adjoining the *bárah*, always manured, but to a less extent than the Bárah; generally irrigated and dofuslee.

3.—*Bárah*, or 'Jungul,' the out-lying fields, including all land other than bárah or munjah.

* * * *

15. *Division into Artificial soils.*—(Furrukkabad.) I come next to the more important division into artificial soils. In my Kanouj Report, I stated that, although the lands of each village were popularly divided into *gowhan*, *munjha*, and *burhet*, yet that I did not see enough difference between *munjha* and *burhet* to justify my employing that division. In this, however, I was wrong. There is in most villages a tract outside the *gowhan*, which receives all the manure which the *gowhan* can spare, which gets more attention in cultivation, and grows better crops than the rest of the outlying lands. This tract is the *munjha*. It does not often happen that the three tracts form concentric rings round the village soil. According to the theory, if all the lands were but one site, it would be so; but as a matter of fact the land always is found to differ. There is a little nullah which lays bare the ground in one direction, or the soil is salt, or a pond overflows and makes it sour; or again, there is a hamlet not far off with some manure of its own, and the *munjha* stretches in this direction. Again, most Bhoor villages require so much manure for their *gowhan*, that they have none at all for the rest of the fields, so that there is no real munjha in them. The existence of *munjha* must not be assumed, but must be investigated into by careful inspection.

"*Sub-division of Gowhan.*—Every village, therefore, is *a priori* divisible into those three classes of artificial soils, *gowhan*, *munjha*, and *burhet* : highly manured, slightly manured, and unmanured. Beyond this I have found it necessary to establish two classes of *gowhan*, according to the kind of cultivation prevalent there.

* * * * *

Sub-divisions of Munjha and Burhet.—Beyond the *gowhan*, the outlying lands are divided into *munjha* and *burhet*, *i.e.*, into first and second class soils, whether *doomut* or *bhoor*.

* * * * *

16. *Mode of Demarcating the Hars.*—My first step on coming to a village is to ask the cultivators, who among them knows all about the village and its peculiarities and will act as their spokesmen. Two or three men are gener-

ally put forward, and I then ask them what are the 'hars' into which they divide their village, and what rates those 'hars' are supposed to pay. This, they generally tell me with tolerable clearness and accuracy ; and with the map in my hand, I form a general impression how the 'hars' lie. There is always a gowhan to the chief site, and generally to each hamlet or *nagla*. The term munjha is not used, and I have only adopted it for convenience.

But the 'hars,' with hardly any exception, fall away in their rates as they recede from the site. Then I get these spokesmen to walk in front of me, and explain that I must mark off on the map, the boundaries of all these 'hars,' and they are to go on in front and tell me when the boundary is reached, or any important change in the rate occurs.

Natural Boundaries of the 'Hars'.—It is very remarkable to see how distinct and obvious the 'har' boundaries often are. They frequently consist of natural boundaries, especially roads; frequently of a continuous ditch and mound. It is extremely common for a gowhan to be bounded in this latter way. A change in the shape of fields mostly denotes a change of har, and of rate ; as an instance, when they have been running north and south, and suddenly change east to west. This is so much the case that a practised eye, with some knowlege of the country, could almost lay out the principal 'hars' on the map without going to the village at all. In many villages the 'hars' are so distinct that the merest tyro could not miss them ; in others, and especially in villages where there are jheels, they are much more difficult.—pp. 25-34.

Thus far as to the homogeneity of the village formation in Upper India and Russia. And I am inclined to think also, that, in the disposition of houses and opening of roads, a strong parallel would be found to exist between the villages of Bengal, those of Upper India, and even such ancient towns as Benares and Mathura ; but I would not hazard a theory of my own on the subject in the absence of any records that I know of. I have travelled too little to say anything positive upon the subject.

I cannot, however, resist the temptation of intimating, that, in certain parts of India, the villages are said to be surrounded with walls, whereas in Allahabad, Mirzapur, and probably also in the surrounding country, we meet with extensive habitations, which are far too big and too irregular, to be called a single dwelling-house, and of which the external appearance may not be very remote from that of a walled village*. So again, in Orissa, I have been told the style of building cottages is like that of certain immigrants in the Sundarbans, of which the peculiarity consists in connecting all the separate huts into one block ; whereas, the cottages of the true Bengal type, are disjointed and symmetrically arranged round one or more rectangular *uthans*. Lastly, these separate huts of Bengal have to be compared with our quadrangular and comparatively extensive masonry houses. In passing from one to another of these different styles of architecture, one might note the characteristic features of communities governed by the Mitak'hara law both before and after partition of the village into smaller bodies; the features of those governed by the Dayabhag law with its increased tendencies towards partition, and the inclination of comparatively wealthy people in Bengal to revert to larger family communities resembling those of the Mitak'hara, not by means of testamentary provision for perpetuities, as elsewhere noticed, but by erecting large masonry houses with accommodation ample enough for generations of people and affording strong obstacles to partition.

---

*Since writing this paper I have met with an account of what is called "unitary home" in America, which presents some points of analogy. In fact, the communistic Societies of Bethel and Aurora, offer a curious resemblance to Hindu communism.—See Nordhoff's "Communistic Societies of the United States."

I have hitherto been endeavouring to prove, I do not know with what success, that the constitution of village communities is not at variance with the Hindoo law of inheritance, the inference intended to be drawn therefrom being, that the family tie has been the basis of our social system. Mr. Elphinstone observes—

> "The popular notion is that the village landholders are all descended from one or more individuals who first settled in the village; and that the only exceptions are formed by persons who have derived their rights by purchase or otherwise from members of the original stock—*Cowell's Edition*; pp. 71-72.

Mr. Mayne, however, in his valuable treatise on Hindu Law and Usage, takes exception to this view of the subject. He says—

> § 199. The co-sharers in many of these village communities are persons who are actually descended from a common ancestor. In many other cases, they profess a common descent, for which there is probably no foundation. In some cases it is quite certain there can be no common descent, as they are of different castes or even of different religions. But it is well known that in India, the mere fact of association produces a belief in a common origin, unless there are circumstances which make such an identity plainly impossible.—(Edition of 1878, pp. 178-79.)

I have not been able to procure all the authorities cited in support of the above, but I find that the references to which I have had access do not fully bear out his opinion.

For instance, Sir H. S. Maine only says—

> "Sometimes men of widely different castes, or Mahometans and Hindoos, are found united in the same village group; but in such cases its artificial structure is not disguised, and the sections of the community dwell in different parts of the inhabited area."—Edn. of 1871, p. 176.

Elsewhere he observes—

> Or they seem to be associations of kinsmen united by the assumption (doubtless very vaguely conceived) of a common lineage."—*Ibid*, p. 175.

I do not contest the opinion that the common descent is conceived somewhat vaguely, but it is well known that Sir H. S. Maine's book does not cite many Indian authorities, though, of course, his own may well count for a host of them. I am sure, however, that he would be the first man to take up the question how far, in any case, the practice has diverged from the Hindoo law, and from what cause; if he saw any possible connexion between the Gotra and village communities.

Another of Mr. Mayne's authorities, Mr. Lyall, proceeds upon *à priori* reasoning, saying, for instance: "It is impossible to suppose that all the members of a large clan are really descended from a common stock," or "a little reflection upon, and observation of, the constitution of the pure clans will convince one, &c." Ultimately, however, Mr. Lyall sums up as follows:—

> Upon the evidence gathered it may not be too rash to hazard the theory that, in the conflux and consolidation of these groups, we can trace the working of the regular processes by which tribes and clans are first formed, and of the circumstances which favor and oppose growth. Let any cause drive together a collection of stray families which have been cut off from different stocks, the law of attraction groups them into a tribe, banded together by force of circumstances, by living in the same place, and in the same way; while the law of exogamy, or marriage outside kinship, immediately begins to work each family into a separate circle of affinity, and at the same time strings together, all these circles, upon the tribal bond of union, like rings on a curtain rod. If one of these circles has a great run of success, if the group happens to produce a man of remarkable luck and capacity, it may widen and develop to any extent and may become a clan.—(*Fortnightly Review*, January 1877, p. 107.)

Upon the whole, I gather from Mr. Lyall and Sir H. S. Maine what I consider supports rather than conflicts with the view I have ventured to put forward in my previous essay, that the Gotra was the original tribal community, which, under the operation of the law of exogamy, led to the virtual disinherison of the daughter, and to the Hindoo law of inheritance in general. Mr. Lyall distinctly alludes to the law of exogamy and thus confirms the position, that, even where any clan is reconstituted, the old restrictions upon marriage are rigidly adhered to. In other words, the *gotra* is never lost sight of. Now, where a community is thus formed of different gotras, it would of course be easy to cull many facts inconsistent with the theory of a common lineage. But in some cases, at least, I think it will be found, that, though the particular community appears to be formed upon a heterogeneous nucleus, this very heterogeneity points to homogeneity of an anterior date, since the traditions of the exclusiveness can only signify that a certain communal relation is missed. It should also be borne in mind that I do not contend that a Gotra is really what it pretends to be. Purity of birth is not a matter which can be established by historical evidence. It is enough that the people who allege a common lineage believe in it as a fact; and there can be no question that the Gotra is believed to indicate a man's lineage. If, then, the village communities, as a rule, accept the notion of a common lineage, it certainly cannot be a far-fetched idea to hold that the members of the same gotra may have, in some past date, lived together as any village community of our own days.

An attempt to trace the social history of a time anterior to the formation of village communities, and that, too, in a country where historical records are almost unknown, may, I fear, provoke ridicule if not contempt. And I would not meddle with antiquarian researches of this description, but that certain vital questions of our own day seem to be connected with the subject. I would not, however, press the point more than to observe, that there is every probability of a Gotra community having once existed in the country and before the days of some of the most widely prevalent laws in our society. We have seen how, in certain village communities, the ownership of land conflicts with the law of inheritance, which, in other respects, is universally upheld in this country. We have seen that the exceptional cases accord with principles of communal life which are of very wide prevalence out of India. We have seen also (in a previous paper) that this Indian law of inheritance has, in course of time, undergone several important modifications. It would then seem, that, while the theory of a Gotra community is likely to establish a more perfect homogeneity as regards the primitive Eastern society both in and out of India, that of the evolution of the Hindu law will go to account for the distinctive features of Indian society, in all its varied phases, and to prove besides, that the people who have left such marvellous records of their intellectual eminence, were not wanting in a benignant love for their posterity, or in suitable practical talents to construct the society which has lasted down to this day. And we may thus come, in fact, to obtain a faint glimpse of a probable historical connection between the communism of Russia and Germany, of Lassalle and Karl Marx, on the one hand, and on the other, the communism of our own society,—a communism which has become so much like the atmosphere we breathe, that it is my own countrymen who are most incredulous even about the logical identity of the two social phenomena.

Turning next to the character of Gotra communities, I do not contend that the Gotra tie really proves an actual blood relation. On the contrary, I would endorse Mr. Lyall's view, that at some stage or other of a clan's existence, a common lineage was assumed, and as Sir H. S. Maine says, formed into a more or less vague conception. We know, besides, that members of the same Gotra are to be found in such different castes, as Dwijas and Sudras; and we know, too, that the argument which seeks to explain away the obvious inference of a common lineage between Brahmans and Sudras is not borne out by facts, and that, worse still, it overlooks the difficulty about Kshettryas and Vaisyas being placed in the same category with Sudras. The Gotra community, therefore, must, if at all, have existed before the existing relations between the castes grew up in India.

On the other hand, the Gotra relation does not seem to be made so much of in the village communities of other parts of the world, although the tribal tie is as universal as it is primitive, and some crude forms of caste division, too, are traceable in the ancient history of other countries. Is it not possible, therefore, that the vaguely-conceived notion of a tribal head crystallised in India into the more perfectly conceived Gotra relation by the very fact of the family tie having been laid hold of to regulate the Hindu law of inheritance and modify the communal principle of succession by survivorship?

Be that as it may, it is upon these considerations that I hold that a system of communal government is traceable wherever the Gotra tie or the Hindu law of inheritance is found to exist. But before we enter upon a narrower examination of the village system of Bengal, I must clear my way by showing that the zamindari system of Bengal is essentially identical with that which forms part of the village communities of Upper India. Mr. Harington, it is true, denied the existence of the little village republics here, and justified the Decennial Settlement of Bengal upon that ground.* And I confess that it is not easy to recognise that the account given by Elphinstone has anything to do with our every day life in Hindu society. Much less, perhaps, could it be seen that the fancy for oratory which has of late come into vogue in Calcutta, has had its real prototype in the acrimonious debates of our village *Dala dali* which are but too well known to most Bengalis.

I quote again from Mr. Thomason's Azimgurh Report:—

> "Para 60th. In a community it must always happen that there are some members of superior intelligence or wealth who obtain a preponderance in the brotherhood. Where so much respect is attached to hereditary right, this influence often descends from father to son, although the descendant may not be distinguished by personal worth. The engagements with Government run in the names of these individuals who are commonly styled Lumberdars, (*i. e.*, bearing the number in the Government Registers.)
>
> * * * * * *
>
> "The hereditary right of the managers had not become established, and it had been usual on re-settlement of the estate to alter the name of the

---

* See extracts from Harington's Analysis of the Bengal Regulations. Office of Superintendent of Government Printing, 1866, page 200.

manager, and sometimes to increase the number of managers. In the present settlement the question has been set at rest by the filing of an agreement entered into by the whole of the village community, declaring the office to be elective, not hereditary, and the incumbent to be liable to be ousted by the voices of the majority of the Puttee or Thoke he might represent, on proved mismanagement."—(N.-W. P. Settlement Reports, Vol. 1, p. 25.)

Mr. Thomason was particularly anxious, as he somewhere says, to avoid the errors committed in Bengal. He certainly does not seem to lay much stress upon the loss of revenue caused by the Permanent Settlement, nor does he declare that the Government ought to get every pice of what is obtained by the Zamindar from the rayat. No settlement officer, nor for the matter of that any Bengali Deputy Collector either, appears to be conscious that in the struggle for enhancement of rent the rayat has better opportunities of protection when he is confronted before the British judge with the native zamindar than when he ventures to elude the grip of a Government functionary, who entertains dispositions similar to that of the Zamindar. Mr. Thomason, probably supposes that the Permanent Settlement taker of Bengal defrauded his brotherhood, and he seems therefore to have taken care to put down the names of all co-sharers in a cleverly worded agreement. So the Hindu law of joint-families and inheritance goes for nothing, and a deed of partnership is held to be the panacea for Indian perversity. We have seen how the zamindars of Bengal have had their *hudas* without a settlement officer to help them. And after all, it may have been pardonable in those who did not perceive the communal character of the Bengal zamindars to have supposed that our village society was grievously injured by the Permanent Settlement. For another fact seems to have largely contributed to the misconception. The village life of our small communities comprises an agricultural and a governmental element. The family *karta* has not only the same avocations as the rest of the joint-family, but is the governor, the patriarch, or the Khozain over the small society which he helps to keep together.

And the Bengal Zamindar, as the karta of his family, was as good an authority as many a Lumberdar of the North-Western Provinces over his brotherhood living in coparcenary. But the Bengal Zamindar in most cases had no *sir* or *nij-jot* lands like his up-country brethren, and thus his agricultural function was completely lost in his governmental one. And hence the theory of Bengal being devoid of village communities, has been propped up by a second assumption, that the Bengal Zamindar was only an officer of Government.

Not only, however, hast the up-country Lumberdar an authority over his coparceners, but they all jointly hold certain relations with their *asamis.* And the position of the Bengal Zamindar is in these respects identical with that of the Lumberdar. But the antipathy for Lord Cornwallis' favorites became dangerous to the interests of such zamindars of the North-Western Provinces as, under the name Talookdar, were indistinguishable from the zamindars of Bengali society. The following extracts will not only prove the parallel between the Bengal Zamindar and the up-country Talookdar, but will show how deeply cherished is the governmental relation between the people and their supreme landlord :—

> "Para 51. Talookahs are not always held by an individual, but they frequently are held either by one person or by a few living together, and exercising their rights as one. Any collection of villages held together, either by one person or by many, is in the common usage of the district called a Talookah ; but I employ it here in the more restricted sense in which it is generally received in the Western Provinces, as meaning a collection of villages, each having a separate community of its own, which by some act of the ruling power had been assigned to an individual who was to collect the revenue from them and pay over a certain portion of it to the Government."—(N.-W P. Settlement Reports, p. 22.)

Mr. Elliot writes :—

> "47. Indeed, it is a matter of astonishment that, notwithstanding the vicinity of Meerut to the scene of perpetual revolutions and anarchy, almost all the landed proprietors trace their descent from periods long antecedent to these very revolutions. The chourassees (or 84 villages equivalent to the Saxon hundreds) which are mentioned in Tod's Rajasthan, may be considered to exist in almost their pristine integrity amongst the Rajpoot and Jât communities ; and the sub-divisions into 42 and 12 villages are still more frequent. The head man of the chief villages in these communities is still looked-up to as a superior, to whom all others of the clan owe allegiance, and are scarcely considered to be endued with the responsibility and consequence of zamindars, until he has presided at the ceremony of binding on their Turbans and pronounced the investiture to have been duly performed. The proposal to admit these Zillahdars and Choudries (as they are called) to collect from their respective divisions, while an individual settlement might be formed with the subordinate villages included in them, is worthy of deliberation, as being calculated to raise a highly respectable class amongst the landholders, which might eventually prove of great service to Government, at the same time that the introduction of the measure would be regarded with gratification, as it would revive an old and cherished institution."—(N.-W. P. Settlement Reports, p. 191.)

It is hardly necessary to mention that I look upon these Zillahdars as identical with Talookdars. The truth is that the Indian village is neither confined to the limits of the *mouzah* previously described, nor even to a single homogeneous body occupying any local unit that we may fix upon. Their industrial and governmental functions, too, have diverged as their constitution has undergone large development. So that everywhere we see little organised groups, each connected by a certain tie with a second group living next to it, and by another tie, which may be more or less intimate, with a third, a fourth, or a fifth group, residing in tracts more or less distant and scattered. These distinct communities, however, may be divided into two main sections, chiefs and rayats, and the chiefs may be sub-divided into talookdars and zamindars, and the rayats into superior and inferior rayats, whatever their respective local names may be, but the differentiation as regards industrial and governmental functions between the different branches of industry and between the different organs of government has become confused and complicated by both normal and revolutionary changes which are still going on.

Sir H. S. Maine observes :—

> "But the most interesting division of the community, though the one which creates most practical difficulty, may be described as a division into several parallel social strata. There are first, a certain number of families who are traditionally said to be descended from the founder of the village; * * * Below these families, descended from the originators of the colony, there are others, distributed into well ascertained groups. The brotherhood, in fact, forms a sort of hierarchy, the degrees of which are determined by the order in which the various sets of families were amalgamated with the community."—(Village Committees, pp. 176-77.)

But the learned author then enters into a discussion of the rent question, overlooking as I conceive it, the governmental relation between the several strata, as he happily terms the classes of society. This governmental relation is, in fact, a necessary outgrowth of all society, and, howsoever adjusted, it must, so far as India is concerned, have been the source of the extraordinary vitality of our social constitution. In India, the political constitution is neither autocratic, nor democratic, but a caste-governed one. This is not to be disputed. We may therefore reasonably look in the village communities, for the germs from which alone caste must have been ultimately developed. The proprietary body naturally evolved out of itself a Talookdar or a Raja. The functions of a Talookdar are partly, what in modern language would be called official, that is subordinate to the sovereign, and partly those of a chief, or proprietor, above his subordinates or tenants. The differentiation into functions in respect of the land, and those in respect of the men concerned with land, however rational, is one of modern growth, and these elements of social life have had to be discriminated in Europe after a considerable sacrifice of human life. There is, therefore, nothing so awfully preposterous, as some are apt to think, in the claim of the Zamindars, Talookdars and Rajas of India to rights in respect of their lands as well as their tenants. The King, or Emperor, or whoever might be at the top of the list was as much a lord over all the land, and the servant of all his subjects as was the Talookdar or Zamindar, each in respect of his own prescribed province and rayats. But the British Government, anxious to discover only a monetary relation, and having done its best in extirpating the authority of the old head men called Talookdars and Rajahs, has got up the monstrous hybrid of a Lumberdar. In Bengal, Lord Cornwallis took away the official functions of the Zamindar and strengthened his proprietary functions by the Permanent Settlement; though now, of course, the times being altered, we have the pleasure of being told that our zamindars were neither fish nor fowl, that is to say, that society had been administered in these provinces, in spite of caste and joint-families, by communities of *chasha* rayats occasionally tyrannised over by a parvenu. Be that as it may, as in the N.-W. P., the zamindars had a centralised authority in the Talookdar. So again the lower section of rayats have had their head man under such names as *Mandal*, *Mokaddem*, &c. Between all these people, *viz.* the Raja, the Talookdar, the Zamindar, the Mandal, the Sha-praja, and the Krofa rayat, there is certainly a fiscal relation, for society cannot be administered without funds. But that relation has never been what the greed of the conqueror, Mahomedan and English, has always sought to establish—the only one subsisting between the parties. The autonomy of the proprietary body is virtually recognised by the term applied to their society—republic. But the importance of the Mandal is now pushed forward into greater prominence than the authority of the Talookdar. The object, however, does not seem to be to advance the social status of the rayat community at the expense of that of the sovereign, but only to cut off the powers of the Talookdar and the Zamindar, so as to fortify that of the sovereign by leaving an extensive glacis or esplanade around it. In wading through the mass of scientifically prepared evidence termed Settlement Reports, which Sir H. S. Maine has wisely abstained from citing in his books, I have received the impression that, just as in some cases, the Talookdars have been coolly disposed of, so probably in many others the Mokaddem has been honored with the rights and authority of the Lumberdar. I do not cite any authorities, but give my impression for whatever it may be worth. I am not concerned to show the hardship and injustice of the settlement operations of Upper India, as compared with the Permanent Settlement of Bengal, that is patent to any body who cares to look beneath the surface. My concern in regard to the sociological questions which we are considering, is only with the universally admitted relations between the two main strata, the chiefs and rayats.

In the first place it should be observed that the rayats are not conquered subjects or slaves, settled upon the land by military chiefs. They are immigrants, free to settle as well as to abscond, as every Indian land-owner knows to his cost. They are often composed of many castes, each caste disclosing specific social ties of its own. The relation between the chief and rayat, even in so far as it is agricultural, does not quite exempt the higher castes from the inferior position. *Brahmans* and *Kayeths* are as often rayats as any *chashas.* But that does not necessarily signify that the former perform any menial labor. And, in general, the rayats of an inferior order, the Krofas, or Pahis, as they are variously called, are employed by the superior castes for this purpose. Of the superior class of rayats, Mr. Moens records :—

> "The chuppurbunds, besides rent are bound by village custom to render service and fees to the Zemindar according to their caste. The services ...... are not the same in all villages, but these are the general rule of the district"—
>
> "(1.) *Sahel.*—Each cultivator is bound to give the Zamindar, when summoned, one day's free ploughing in the *sir* land with his own plough and oxen...From this service Brahmans, Kayeths and Thakurs are generally exempted.
>
> "(2.) *Oogahi.* * * * They are always taken where rents are paid in kind .... No caste is exempt as a rule. Occasionally Brahmans, Thakurs and Kayeths are exempted as a favor, though not by right* * * *
>
> In some villages, the village is collectively bound to supply thatching grass. [Note how even the rayats are here given a corporate character] * * * *Muraos* are generally bound to give *tarkari* (vegetables for the table) free, sometimes the amount is fixed. * * * The *Gadariya* (shepherd) gives one blanket in the year.
>
> "(3) *Begar.*—Begar is almost universal; each caste giving a certain amount of labor.
>
> The *Chamars* (the caste who handle and deal in skins and hides) grind corn daily for the Zamindar, Patwari or Karinda, as long as they are in the village. [Other kinds of work are also mentioned for this class]. *Dhoonas* and *Joolahas* (their business is connected with cotton) work for nothing when required, but get *chabena.* The *Dhobi* (washerman) washes for the Zamindar's family free. The *Telis* supply all the oil..... The *Burhai* (carpenter) cuts wood for him when required. The *Hujjam* (barber) shaves him for nothing. The *Kahar* and *Dhimar* carry loads."—(Moens' Bareilly Report, pp. 108-9.)

All these people, however, receive certain grain allowances, which it may be allowed are in return for their work; though it is somewhat harder to decide who is their real paymaster.

I quote again from the same Report :—

> "When the grain has been dressed and prepared, the first deduction from the heap in the pergunnahs where rent is paid in kind, is for the *Choongi huqs.* The amount of deduction varies according to local custom, and its distribution also varies."

The following classes of recipients, or payments, are enumerated :—

"Kootwar, Mali, Kahar, Sweeper, Kheraputti, Joshi (astrologer), Chamar, Weighman, Bawarehikhana.

Also :—

"*Burhai*, or carpenter * * * the *Lohar*, or blacksmith, * * the Chowkidar, * * the *Nyee* or barber, * * *Dhobi*, *Putwari*.

And finally we have this important item :—

"Besides this, the Guru or Pandit (the priest and schoolmaster in fact) have to get their dues."—(Bareily Report, pp. 78-80.)

The above long extract will put the reader in mind of Mr. Elphinstone's account of the officers of an Indian township. He recounts a few and says, "the number varies in different villages, and the officers included are not always the same." So that the chakeran lands of Bengal will furnish an additional point of contact between the village system of Bengal and Upper India.

Let us next turn for one moment to the Russian *corvée* or labor dues. We read in Mr. Wallace's lucid account :—

"The amount of the labor dues was determined in this way. The *tyaglo* or labor-unit was composed of a man, a woman, and a horse ; and each tyaglo owed to the proprietor three days' labor every week. If a household contained two *tyaglo*" (they have got some thing very like our joint-family system in Russia) "one of them might work for the proprietor six days in the week, and thereby liberate the other from its obligation. In this way one-half of a large family could labor constantly for the household, whilst the other half fulfilled all the obligations towards the proprietor. The other dues consisted of lambs, chickens, eggs, and linen cloth, together with a certain sum of money which was contributed by those peasants who were allowed to go away and work in the towns."—(Wallace's Russia, 4th Ed. Vol. I., p 165.)

Is it too much after this to suggest that the *adha bhag* of India, and porbably also the metayer rents of Europe, were commuted from labor dues? Be that as it may, the *Begar* service prevailing both in India and Russia, and for the matter of that in Java also, is, I think, sufficient evidence to warrant the inference that the relation between the chief and rayats is probably anterior to the promulgation of the Hindu law, which so powerfully modified the communal society of India. In other words, I think we can trace here the primitive relation between Dwijas and Sudras, or patricians and plebeians. But the serfs of Russia were always bound to render military service, just as was the case with the plebeians of Rome. Mr. Laveleye writes, "the commune is jointly responsible to the lord for his rent and to the State for *taxes and recruits, in proportion to its population*" (p. 8). In India, not only have the Sudras been for ever exempted from military service, but until, I believe, the passing of Act XX of 1856, or a few years before that, the rents paid to the Zemindar by the rayat fully exonerated the latter from any further burden of taxation.

In comparing the village society of Upper India with what I suppose is its analogue in Bengal, we are bound to recognise some well known facts as causes of what difference, I admit, does apparently subsist between them. The superior fertility of soil in Bengal must have largely contributed, by reason of an accelerated growth of population, to swallow up the *khamar*, and even the *nijjot* lands of the proprietary body, into what forms the rayati lands of the village, especially when the difference between the laws of inheritance prevailing in the two provinces was calculated to push forward the process; the ultimate result being that the agricultural functions of that body have virtually ceased in Bengal.

Under the Mitak'hara law partition is a tedious and undesirable process, but in regard to the *sir* lands, it is, after a time, at least, a most imperative one. It deprives the separated brothers of their rights of survivorship in respect of one another; and, as between father and son, it entails much hardship upon the former and his after-born sons. When, again, the separated father dies, it is said to be, according to the shasters at least, an open question, whether repartition of the entire property should not be called for. But, on the other hand, the *sir* lands at a certain stage of society could not be cultivated by many proprietors, unless there was a plot definitely assigned to each. Under the communal system of partition each male member of full age would be entitled to an equal share of the lands, and no objection would be raised if a family of four brothers got four times as much as one composed of one man and half a dozen infants; for it was known that a subsequent repartition would restore matters to their normal condition. But the law of inheritance points only to one kind of partition, *viz.*, according to ancestral shares, and the result has been that the tenure in land remains what is called a zamindari for a number of generations, and is then converted by partition into a Pattidari, each coparcener getting a Patti according to his ancestral share. The Pattis again become each a zamindari in subsequent generations, but are seldom, if ever reunited, to form a zamindari as of old. The most fertile cause of disruption is, I believe, a sale or mortgage, since what evil of the kind was apprehended from inheritance of the widow, the daughter and her son, was prevented by the rule of succession by survivorship. These sales and mortages, however, were in all probability less frequent under the Hindu, than under the Mahomedan government. With the English the question has of course very naturally got mixed up with the doctrine of free-trade. Thus partition, though allowed by the Hindu law, must have been of rare occurrence. And the Bhaiachara tenure, with its irregular partition, seems to have positively resisted the encroachment of the Hindu law; while the recognition of the law of pre-emption in Upper India has helped to keep alive the ancient communism of that part of the country.

In Bengal there is no escape from succession by inheritance, as under the rule of survivorship, and the alien elements, *viz.*, the daughter and her son, succeed, whether, or not, there has been a partition previously made. Hence a powerful motive to put off separation between the members is absent. It is only when the widow succeeds, that the surviving members become alarmed about division and the consequent waste of property by irresponsible advisers. The *parda nĕshin* lady in India is socially, though not legally, under a disqualification, akin to that of a minor. But when the reversioners belong to the daughter's line, no such desire is excited on the part of the brotherhood to prevent a disruption of the family. Although, however, partition in the form of division of shares thus becomes easy enough under the Dayabhag law, yet partition of the lands themselves does not become half so imperative as where they have *sir* lands to lot off for cultivation between the proprietors. And this circumstance requires the zamindars of Bengal to be prepared for all contingencies. All their lands being let out to tenants, the proceeds may be consumed upon the communal principle common all over India, if a joint-family society is preferred. But if a disruption occurs, the rent paid by the tenants may be divided according to well-known ancestral shares, either by the proprietary body, after collection, or by the tenants themselves before collection, *i.e.*, when even a joint collection cannot be maintained. If they had any *nijjot* lands to divide, or if a separation required an actual partition of the *khamar* lands, the process, hard as it is, would be extended to rayati lands as well, the slightly increased trouble being counterbalanced by the consequent gain in respect of the governmental relation between zemindar and rayat. These facts have an important bearing upon the relative independence of the Bengal rayats as compared with those of Upper India.

I do not know how long this has been the condition of things in Bengal, but the following passage in the Ayin Akberi seems to render it likely that it has had nothing to do with the Permanent Settlement, or the British Administration of Bengal.

The subjects are very obedient to Government, and pay their annual

> rents in eight months by instalments, bringing mohurs and rupees to the place appointed for the receipt of the revenues, it not being customary in this suba for the husbandman and Government to divide the crops. Grain is always cheap and the produce of the land is determined by Nussuk (estimate). His majesty has had the goodness to confirm those customs.—(Gladwin, London, Ed. 1800, p. 6.)

Lest the above should lead to the inference that there were no zemindars at all, I subjoin the following:—

> "The suba of Bengal consists of 24 sircars, the revenue is 59,84,59,319 dams or sicca Rs. 1,49,61,482-15-2 in money; and the zemindars who are mostly Koits (Kayeths) furnish also 23,330 cavalry; 801,158 infantry, 170 elephants, 4,260 cannon and 4,400 boats."—(*Ibid*, Ed., p. 16.)

If the zemindars had had much nij-jot land, part of the revenue at least, would have been payable in kind. It may thus be inferred that from long before the Permanent Settlement the agricultural function had passed out of the hands of the Bengal zamindars.

It is hard to say whether, and if so, how far, the peculiar circumstances of Bengal alluded to above have been caused by the law of Dayabhag, or whether they have not led to the modifications of the Dayabhag itself upon the earlier and more widely prevalent system of the Mitak'hara school. But certain it is that the peculiarities in question deeply affect the requirements of the Batwara law in Bengal, requirements which seem not to be sufficiently understood by the authorities here.

The facility of separation serves also to modify the relation between the Karta and his subordinates, inasmuch as, on the one hand, the loyalty of the latter is divided between a natural guardian and the communal head of the joint-family, and, on the other, the kind devotion of the Karta receives, in consequence, a shock of jealousy in regard to the rival guardian thus evolved. Hence it has been that under the Dayabhaga law the communal relations generally break off in the third or second generation, counting from the founder of the family. Add to this the facilities offered by British courts to secure separate enjoyment of communal property, and it will be easy to conceive why and how the village communities of Bengal, though radically identical, are apparently so dissimilar from those of Upper India. For although the Hindu law, and especially the Dayabhag, is the real cause of disruption, there has always existed a social opinion supporting the communal rather than an individual system, if I may so call it. Where, for instance, the law would allow a separation, social opinion, until the recent complete absorption of judicial functions by British courts, might compel a refractory member to comport with the communal system against his wishes. A Karta, tired of a dissolute subordinate, might thus find himself supported in requiring the latter either to give up his vicious habits or to forfeit his ancestral share. A selfish subordinate might, by the same moral pressure, be required to share his superfluities with a lot of famished but blameless members. All these resources are now at an end in Bengal; though I should guess from the loyal relations between the Karta and his subordinates in Upper India, that our new fangled ideas have not yet quite penetrated there. The result is, that the little village republics which are such an interesting study elsewhere, are of no consequence in Bengal as regards its revenue administration under Great Britain.

The village has been shown to consist of several strata of society. Among these there are points of variation as between one another, and also as regards the same stratum in different parts of the country. The proprietary body, for instance, as has been shown, have undergone important changes by reason of facilities of partition and virtual absence of nijjot cultivation. Immigration is another cause which, in Upper India, appears to have especially affected the rayat community, whereas in Bengal it has operated upon both the superior and inferior strata alluded to above.

The importance of the family tie in Hindu social economy, and some other circumstances, have always tended to attract to particular centres relatives who might previously have been scattered over the country at large. Such immigrants have found admittance in some cases as purchasers, or grantees, of Lakhiraj, or Miras, and have ultimately risen to equality with, or even superiority over, their peers of the same caste. Moreover, men have often virtually cut themselves off from their blood relations —(Gnati) or brotherhood, and settled in villages where they or their fathers had married. In other words, viewing this matter from our main standpoint, we find that, while the Hindu law of exogamy tended to cast out the daughters from the village, and that of inheritance led to their virtual disinherison, there have been some cases in which a like effect has occurred in regard to the son. In other words, the daughter and her son have kept to the village, and the immigrant son-in-law has found a shelter by reason of his marriage. Under the more compact society of the Mitak'hara school, this process becomes comparatively difficult, and is therefore rare in the case of the proprietary body, for the requisite land for the dwelling house, at least, has in that case to be secured from a more numerous body of people and one less intimately related to the applicant than is the case in Bengal with its Dayabhag law. But, as regards the rayats, the process has been easy enough both in Upper India and in Bengal. In the latter case the question of communism does not run counter to that of land tenures, and proximity to the residence of a friend or relative is sufficient to attract a fellow rayat. And, as they all hold land upon equal terms, there is generally little or no likelihood of any difference arising in this respect between brother zemindars if there are more than one of these. Hence, where land is available, and in such cases the terms of lease are necessarily fair enough, immigration is not only free, but serves to form communities of immigrants among the lower strata. Furthermore, whatever the case may have been before the spread of the caste system, there is no question, that since then the immigrants would, owing to their caste feelings, be grouped according to their respective castes, and thus compose several communities, all equally subordinate to the proprietary community. Following, however, the same line of argument, we might carry ourselves back in imagination to a remote antiquity and conceive that in the Gotra communities they had somewhat the same sort of social strata as we now behold. We know, for instance, that they had among the proprietary body of Dwijas not only the cultivating holders of the sir—*viz.*, the original Vaisyas, but also the analogues of the modern Gurus and purohits of the village, and a body of armed people, possibly akin to the *gundas* of Upper India. But we can conceive from analogy that they had a subordinate stratum of immigrants, grouped upon the model of their superiors according to their occupation, all passing by the common name of Sudra and owing begar service to the Dwijas. These inferior groups of immigrants might well adopt the Gotra names of the proprietary community, although there was no common lineage between them, and, the same law of Gotra exogamy being enforced upon them, they might naturally be organised in the same way as the several classes of Dwijas, and thus acquire the autonomous character peculiar to all our village communities.

To return to modern times, the village community, whether of rayats or zamindars, comprises in each stratum blood relations (Gnatis), relations by marriage (kutumba), and members of the same caste, *i.e.*, those with whom marriage is permissible under the caste system. And a community like this has not only the organisation which is confined to the small area of a village, but one of a much larger description, many such village communities forming what is called a *Samaj* or *Sreni*. And this larger society also is composed of the three classes of relations: (1) Gnatis; (2) Kutumbas, actual, and (3) Kutmubas, prospective. Its ultimate unit is of course the undivided family, members of which compose primarily the village, or the village *dal*, and secondarily, the

Samaj. The members of each *Samaj* would, under the caste rule of inter-marriage, have the same caste occupation, though that is no longer imperative. But in so far as restrictions have been imposed upon any samajes in regard to inter-marriage, they are as distinct as different castes. The history of this process of division, from caste into samajes, is of course not to be found; but the forces which we know to be often at work in causing disruption of the village and family communities, may likewise have caused in the past disruption of the caste. No doubt the institution of caste originally extended itself partly by the centralised action of government, and partly by spontaneous imitation. But it is easy to conceive that after a time the elements of discord still observable may have led to a separation like that of the village *dals*, and that eventually the different sections of the caste developed into distinct samajes. In other words, the simple processes of differentiation and integration may have served to form caste communities, samajes, and family communities, out of the primitive village or Gotra community.

Turning next to the internal organisation of the villages, we must consider other matters affecting the admission of an immigrant, besides acquisition of a site for his dwelling-house. These matters may be looked upon as regulating what may be called the village franchise. Here I should premise that as regards Upper India my information is necessarily defective, and that I infer a homogeneity only from the general similarity of social customs and the parallel previously set forth, between it and Bengal. Village franchise, according to native ideas, amounts to a right to mess with one's peers. This, however, is subject to [illegible] of intermarriage, which consequently connect franchise with caste. So long, however, as a man or his wife is not permitted to mess with the rest of the community at his own place, or at that of any of them, the family remains outside the communal circle as it is now constituted. A man may become a fellow resident of the same village part of which he may have purchased at auction (now-a-days even shares of the same house may be knocked down to strangers), and yet continue to be almost an excrescence in the society. The mess franchise comprises two grades, having reference to the class of food taken: for the sake of convenience I would call them first and second class franchise. Those who hold the former, eat of *bhat* and *roti*, with suitable accompaniments, cooked or touched by each other; whereas, second class franchise is confined to partaking only of *puri, chira, dahi,* &c. We might even descend a step lower and mention a third grade, having reference only to drinking water. The three grades of franchise signify a further inequality, in that some whose communal relations are not of the closest, may entertain others with *bhat* or *roti*, *i.e*, first class food, but may not take from them any thing beyond *puri* or water as the case may be.

The acquisition of a certain grade of franchise, and the admission to a certain stratum of village society, necessarily carries with it privileges not only in respect of members of the same stratum, but also as regards superior or inferior ones. Thus, for instance, an immigrant Brahman desiring to secure the village franchise must obtain the consent of his fellow-caste men in the village to let him dine with them and to come to dinner at his place. This position being attained he enjoys all the privileges of the Brahman community, as regards both his peers and his subordinates.

Not only, for instance, would it be incumbent upon all other Brahmans of the village to invite him along with his neighbours of the same community, but even the inferior orders would have to give him the same *samajik*, or presents, which are given to his peers. He would also have the right to insist that his peers should not accept the invitation of so-and-so until a point raised by himself was settled. It may so happen that a Brahman is admitted only to second-class franchise in respect of the Brahman community in the village. In that case he would have no right to insist upon a peer taking what may be called a first-class dinner at his place. But nevertheless as regards the inferior orders, he would have equal or nearly equal privileges with his peers. Members of different samajes, *e. g.*, a *rarhi* and a Barendro, may be admitted to second-class franchise as between one another, but hardly ever to a first class one. But they cannot intermarry.

The closest relation exists between *gnatis*, or blood relations, and this seems to point to some historical connexion between the messing relation of village communities and the commensality of family communities. How the one gradually shades off into the other, it would take too long to describe. And I must leave it to others to consider whether or not a logical connexion is traceable between the two. Among *kutumbas*, however, the relation is less intimate. One of the most important formalities of a marriage is the admission of the bride to first class franchise; the ceremony observed (*paksparsa*) being her touching the food served to her husband's gnatis. The bridegroom is of course admitted to first class franchise in the father-in-law's family, both by the marriage and the dinner which immediately follows. But the relation may be easily broken off. And the messing relations between the bride's father and the father of the bridegroom are not always necessarily of the first class type. Hence it would seem, after all, that intermarriage has not become yet an essential condition of village franchise.

Indeed, the first coming of the bridegroom into the village where he is going to marry, seems to accord more with the aggressiveness characteristic of the primitive marriage by capture, than with the joyful accompaniments which now form such an important feature of the proceeding. This primitive form of marriage alluded to, I mean the Rakshasa marriage of the Hindu law, is supposed to have had an intimate connexion with the law of Gotra exogamy. But one curious evidence of the village system is noticeable here, *viz.*, that the bridegroom's guardian has to make several donations to the village community, one to the male portion under the name *grambheti* (of which part, again, is in certain cases due to the Zamindar), and another to the wives of the village community who attend the wedding chamber and amuse the bridegroom with their conversation. To return to the messing relation; it would thus seem that persons otherwise intimately related may not possess the first class franchise in each other's society. Moreover, it may be fairly supposed that if a Gotra endogamy was allowed at any time, the village franchise would not then admit of any diversity as between *gnatis* and *kutumbas*; but when the law of Gotra exogamy led to men of different villages, different tribes, in fact, dining with each other, the first class franchise would seem to have been withheld under some rules.

The foregoing account will show that somehow or other marriage and our village franchise got connected as social institutions of the Hindus. And this impression will be further strengthened when we consider the question of loss of franchise. This comes by way of punishment, and at the first instance comprises a loss at once of the second and first class rights. But the highest punishment takes the form of deprivation of even the third class franchise, and carries with it a prohibition from intermarriage. This prohibition cannot for obvious reasons extend beyond the *Samaj*; but, as all samajes are constituted upon the common basis of the Hindu, it is often impracticable for one samaj to take by hand the castaways of another. This is called loss of caste, and the motive is not unfrequently confounded with religious fanaticism by those who do not fully understand our social affairs. It is certainly connected with religion: the Hindu joint-family system signifies not only joint estate and joint mess, but also joint *worship*. Hence the village community may not overlook a renunciation of the communal church if I may so call it. But every body knows that a conversion from *Baktism* into *Vaishnavism* does not entail the same consequences as one into Mahomedanism or Christianity, so that, after all, it seems to be the acceptance of a foreign franchise (according to native ideas), the fellowship with outsiders, especially at mess, and the disregard thus shown to the social hierarchy of the Hindus, which are so strongly resented by them. It is, in fact, the village autonomy standing out against foreign encroachment. The question thus seems to be one of politics rather than of religion, for all the criticism to which the custom has been subjected.

The village communities of Bengal, or rather the *samajes*, have generally each a head man, called the *Goshthipati* : and sometimes there is a second, called *Naib-Goshthipati*. The minor heads of villages go by the name *Dalapati*. In some cases, however, the central authority alluded to does not exist, and the constitution becomes in this respect freer than democracy itself. But it is significant that the absence even of a provisional president, or chairman, does not lead to anarchy. Whether the *Goshthipati* had, as a rule, any zamindari rights I have not been able to trace, but in several cases the *Goshthipatis* have borne, and in hereditary succession, too, the title of Raja. It is recognised only by the people of the Samaj, though not by what is called the "public" in public papers. I have just now in my mind only two cases, but I am sure many others of the kind might be collected. I allude to the Goshthipatis of the Jasar samaj in the 24-Pergunnahs and to that of Bakla in Bakarganj, supposed by some to be identical with Bangla, or Bangal. In some cases the office of the Goshthipati has been known to change hands, the action taken being analogous to election, without, however, denoting anything like definite deposal.

On solemn occasions called *mala chandan*, the Goshthipati is invested with *chandan* or *tika*, and a garland of flowers (mala). These are obviously emblems of royalty and seem to point to a social system which combined both proprietary and political supremacy; and the revolution in respect of the Goshthipati, as alluded to above, may for aught we know, have become practicable only since the recent changes have been brought about in the land-tenures of the country. The autonomous community described above have exercised all sorts of functions—judicial, fiscal, as well as political—some of which, as every body knows, have been seized or surrendered at the time of the Permanent Settlement. The village panchayet seems to be a remnant of the old order of things. But it is chiefly, if not exclusively, in the matter of franchise that the communal rights are now exercised. The British Government having thus gradually absorbed all the essential functions of the village community, the utility of the franchise has become problematical, and the contest for the grant or withdrawal of the privileges not unnaturally provokes the ridicule of those whose ideas have been moulded by the existing order of things. Of the various internal affairs, that is as distinguished from what may be called the external affairs relating to the payment of land-revenue and other like questions concerning village communities, I would notice only the following: (1) Administration of justice; (2) Formation of compacts for industrial or other purposes; (3) Raising of subscriptions, and (4) The penal remedies available to enforce their ordinances. It will be convenient to take up the last first of all, since upon it depends the efficacy of communal activity in all other matters. This penal remedy, it is true, does not seem to be any thing more formidable than exclusion from certain dinners. But a further advance in the same direction may entail with it prohibition from intermarriage against all the members of the joint-family to which the offender belongs. These dinners ought, therefore, I repeat, to be regarded rather as questions of village politics than occasions for social or personal enjoyment. And I imagine some analogy may be looked for in the rules of guilds and crafts, and some, too, may be traced in the masonic dinners as well as in those which are essential to enrolment in the British inns of court. If we might venture to pry into the mysteries of religion, the Eucharist itself could be named by way of illustration. And we may take note that among the Essenes the probationer was not allowed to touch this common food for three years, and that he who was separated from their body often died after a miserable manner. Bound by his oath and customs, he was not at liberty to partake of food that he met with elsewhere, but was forced to eat grass and to famish his body with hunger till he was at his last gasp, when he might be received again. (*Wars of the Jews, B. II., Ch. VIII*).

The formalities which accompany our communal dinner leave no doubt in my mind, that for all the festivities of the occasion there is a deeper purpose than is visible at first sight, namely, the conservation of a stronger bond of union than is ordinarily conveyed by the word social, between the host and his guests, and between all the people assembled comprising the guests, the host and his family.

The exclusion from these dinners may well be compared with exclusion from any English club. But the singularity in our case is, that marriage restrictions being connected with them, the efficacy and scope of the means employed become vastly out of proportion to the apparent magnitude of the means itself. There was, indeed, a time (and occasionally it is the case even now) when pecuniary fines were inflicted by the community quite as much as by a Zamindar. But in the latter case they have to be backed by the Zamindar's peons, whereas the community was strong enough to dispense with all such assistance: fines with it were only a lighter punishment, which might not be disregarded for fear of exclusion from communal mess, and eventually from intermarriage.

Hence, too, I think the penalty in question must be classed as a moral rather than as a physical one; those who regard it, and several other cognate matters in a different light, seem to me to labor under some misconception as to what is really coercion and compulsion, and what is only metaphorically such. From the sufferer's standpoint it may, indeed, become hard to distinguish between moral and physical pressure. But the punisher's point of view will render it easy to draw the line of demarcation around all acts which directly cause physical pain or privation. Boycotting, though severer as a punishment than actual incarceration, cannot, I think, fairly come under the category of physical coercion, or be held as a punishable offence either. So also solitary confinement, however formidable, is not, I think, to be confounded with moral punishment.

Be that as it may, the means alluded to has enabled the village community to dispense with the services and consequent charges of a police or a body of court-peons. And the economy thus effected must be viewed in connexion with the general question, elsewhere discussed, of the distribution of property and the relation between the rich and the poor, characteristic of joint-families and village communities.

The following question naturally suggests an inquiry into the merits of the village community as a judicial authority. But one should not expect too much from a commodity which used to cost so little. After all, however, the article turned out was not quite so bad as might otherwise be expected. But all comparisons are invidious, and I should take care not to endanger my life and property by offending the legal fraternity here. However that may be, the merits of the village community as a judicial body such, as they were, seem to have been due to two or three causes.

The close and literally familiar intercourse of people in communal life seems to give a greater publicity to their every day movements than is attainable by any amount of vigilance of the public press. Add to this that hearsay evidence was freely acceptable, and we see how, armed with these weapons, the judges who understood the inner life of litigants as much as their own, could always, when so disposed, succeed in eliciting truth, however slowly. Though I am very little disposed to obliterate the distinction between primary and secondary evidence, yet I think it is not to be denied that effective cross-examination in the witness-box has always to draw its inspiration from elsewhere. And I am sure that the oath taken by touching the Zamindar's guddee, or the Brahman's feet, is far more effectual than the mysteries of the penal code or the bustle of a brow-beating barrister. These are very good things in their own way; I mean in winning cases and confounding judges, but not in eliciting truth. In that respect hearsay bears, I think, the same relation to primary evidence that hypothesis does to logical induction. Last of all, the judiciary and litigant under the village system had this further advantage that the questions at issue could be viewed in their completeness and without the analysis which is so essential for a foreigner, but which is so calculated to put people out of court. The village community never imposed any restrictions against misjoinder and were never hampered by questions of jurisdiction. Their forum, too, had a value however primitive. Every body present was allowed to suggest principles and inquiries, the freedom being akin to that of the members of a democratic assembly and the privileges of the bar did not hedge in pedantry and humbug.

In raising funds the village community have had the same primitive ways as in judging cases and taking evidence. They would not in fact make much distinction between voluntary contribution and forced requisition. The names of payers being drawn up in a list, amounts would be put down against them more at the option of the persons assembled than at the instance of the payer himself, who, by the way, might even be absent at the time. There is some thing like haggling in these proceedings, but, as a rule, the taxers and tax-payers are fairly considerate about each other's circumstances. Over and above all these customs, one definite principle observed is, that there is always a strict comparison made and allowed between the circumstances and contributions of the different persons named in the list. No regard, however, is shown to individual opinion about the merits of the cause of subscription: whatever the community takes in hand is good for each and all the members, and a protest from a single person would either go unheeded or imperil the movement altogether. The volition of the payer is allowed free play in almsgiving, but in that matter collective activity is hardly, if ever, roused in this country, though there is emulation in no small degree. But the man who solicits your charity seems to behave as if he had claims of a particular kind, and, as a rule, makes a great distinction between his benefactors.

Social compacts: these are called Dharmaghat and lead among other causes to strikes and combinations. The institution is very old, and is maintained by the self-same remedy of exclusion from the mess and marriage. Sometimes, indeed, when members of different communities combine for a common advantage, they employ a solemn oath to give a binding effect to their organisation. This feature of the communal system is fast dying out with the decadence of caste and the mess-restriction peculiar to it: and the better classes would perhaps do better to imitate the inferior orders, instead of attempting to excel in puffing and tall talk.

After all, however, a vast amount of social power still rests in the hands of the village community, as the persecution against the pronouncedly heterodox members of our society amply proves. And really it is a question whether those who have the good of their country at heart, would not do well to identify themselves with their respective village communities and then endeavor to reform the society from within, rather than indulge in useless criticisms and recrimination, which can never reach the section of people assailed. The action of the present generation of instructed Bengalis seems to be guided by the principles of party politics which prevail in Europe and are based upon the doctrine, that the majority must prevail over the minority. They seem to conceive that, as in Europe, a small nucleus of powerful agitators have a chance of so augmenting their numbers as to ultimately overpower their opponents, so in Bengal their action will by and bye upset Hindu society by the sheer force of numbers. But they forget that mere numbers, as those of a rabble, whether in military or civil society, cannot give us the advantages of organisation; and an organisation is not always the product of a written constitution. So long, besides, as the organised community of this country are not moved, the collective action will never be realised in life. The Hindus have an organised society: so much so, that any one who does not belong to some community or other is fairly liable to be confounded with what is opprobriously termed an outcast. The Hindu community is also autonomous, and no jugglery will convert a village municipality into one of our primitive townships.

If now we inquire why it is that any number of disorganised individuals can never reach the fountain sources of Hindu social activity, I can only point to one primary cause, *viz.*, that it is not a rule of majority, but one of unanimous consent, which governs the action of our society.

To many people it appears to be a self-evident truth, that the opinion of the majority ought to prevail. But after all, it must have cost Europe a long process of development to arrive at the fundamental principle of modern democracy, that opinion should ultimately be expressed in the form of yea or nay to an appropriately framed question, and that the decision of a collective body should be determined by the preponderance of votes thus declared and numbered. I do not know if the solution does not signify a sort of compromise with the well-known but dangerous alternative, *viz.*, appeal to arms, but there can hardly be any doubt, in spite of the support given to the doctrine by the now all-important school of Utilitarians, that the numeric strength of advocates is an index neither to logical nor to ethical soundness. If a poll could be taken of the whole human race, most of the scientific doctrines of the day would have large majorities arrayed against them; and as for the Utilitarian doctrine which regards the happiness of any two outsiders as preferable to that of a single person, such as one's own father, mother, wife or son, the ethical value of it is certainly not patent to primitive people, like the writer, to say nothing of the further equipment of modern democratic society, the education of public opinion by means of stump oratory, special pleading, forensic strategy, banter, bullying and newspaper agitation. Whatever, therefore, the history and worth may be of the doctrine that the claims and opinions of the majority shall prevail, one need not stand aghast at being told that unanimity has been the rule of conduct in Hindu society. Practically, however, the requirements of society are fulfilled by an implicit obedience shown to the responsible authorities. This is often confounded with the rule of despotism prevailing in other countries. The Hindu, however, knows no *rights*: he is bound to fulfil all his *duties*. Even the relationism of rights and duties is almost unknown. The sovereign, the Brahman, the purohit, the zamindar, the rayat, the karta, the husband, the wife, the father, the son, each has his duties carefully defined, and in each case the least default is counted as at once a crime towards the community and a sin to the gods. When, therefore, a difference of opinion arises and cannot be settled by the normal methods of persuasion and authority, the society is split into two—two communities which, though unequal are yet distinct and each complete by itself. In fact it does not matter how small the minority, it is never swamped by the majority. And it is hard to say how far the traditional feeling has been, or is likely to be, reversed by the present training in party politics.

To one who does not know the details of our social system, it may thus become hard to distinguish between a schism and a number of excommunicated people. Such, however, has been the influence of Hinduism, that its essential doctrines are never denied; hence those who really undergo a social punishment—one exactly like boycotting—never endeavour to form, much less succeed in forming, themselves into an organic body. A schism, however, is perfectly constitutional and always governed by the first principles of Hindu society. When, therefore, a modern agitator in Bengal attempts simply to break up Hindu society without offering a definite organisation to replace it, there is no hope of his succeeding until the Hindu social system is altogether extinct. On the other hand, the complex character of Hindu society allowing of several strata, as Sir H. S. Maine happily calls the sub-divisions, leaves room enough for the growth and existence of innumerable communities side by side, and each with an autonomy of its own. Only when Brahmanic supremacy over the hierarchy is ignored—the proprietary rights of the Zamindar community being part of the property system and not to be shaken—the non-Hindu communities are thrown beyond the pale of third class franchise. Thus Mahomedans and Christians have become discordant communities and castes, living in the same village with Hindus, but water touched by them is regarded as a defilement by the latter; and the Brahmos are fast verging on the same condition.

There is only one escape for the excommunicated person out of this system of Hindu village rule, he may emigrate into a very remote part of the country, where, having secured a dwelling house, he may gradually find admission into some caste. It may have to be done by intrigue or persuasion, but he must establish a fellowship with some community if he wants to get on in life. And when the social punishment is unjust, and the excommunicated man is really a deserving person, he may render himself acceptable by his sterling worth, and eventually rise to equality or even supremacy over the community of his adoption. For although the rule of majority is nowhere recognised, a large preponderance of numbers on any one side naturally causes a virtual withdrawal of opposition on the part of the minority. And so, especially in Bengal, men of consequence sometimes seek to swell their following by admitting into the village stray immigrants of real merit.

Thus, too, ambitious men sometimes seek to rise to the position of a *Goshthipati* by setting aside an existing one, whose fortune and position may be on the decline. The means resorted to for such purpose is to enlist the support of a large majority in any *samaj* by frequent and rich entertainments and suitable gifts. The *tika* and *chandan* to a *Goshthipati* is an honor which has to be received from the community, and especially what is called the *kulin* portion of it. These people, being previously influenced by the ambitious aspirant, contrive to take exception to some conduct of the existing authority in the samaj, and eventually give effect to the intended revolution.

The entertainments of village communities are not only important in settling questions of franchise and keeping up the position of the *Dalapati* and *Goshthipati*, but have a further value with reference to the social hierarchy previously alluded to. In large entertainments the invitation is extended from the peers of the village and from those of the whole samaj, or at least a small district of it, to the other communities of the locality according to the unit determined upon, who are admissible only to second or third class franchise in regard to the host and his peers. Such events may occur in a Brahman's family or in one of a lower caste. In either case the Brahman community are shown the highest respect, though of late the growing inequality of fortunes and the relative poverty of the Brahmans has often the effect of confining the more expensive dishes to the wealthier sections of the community. However, the money value of the entertainments apart, the Brahmans have always the highest attention. And the most learned Brahmans, again, who hold the rank of educationists, have to be honored by presents in hard cash, or useful articles. The value of these presents, as a whole, entirely depends upon the voluntary charity of the donor, but the head man of the village, or samaj, has then to take the matter in hand; and it taxes his body and mind, as well as his moral sense, in no inconsiderable degree to distribute the presents according to the personal claims or hereditary rank of each individual recipient. Disputations are often held on occasions like these, ostensibly it may be with an eye to the presents to be dispensed immediately or in future, but in reality to establish the relative superiority of the learned men who join in them. This is determined by an umpire previously nominated, or by the common consensus of the assembly called together. And the whole conduces ultimately to certain important effects upon the internal economy of our society.

I have already mentioned that the village community have to decide all manner of questions: judicial, criminal, social, fiscal, or any other which may arise. Now when a question of Hindu law or shasters occurs, and all our affairs are subject-matter of our law books, and when lay people fail to decide it with their ordinary experience, the question has to be referred to the chief pandit of the locality: it is put either verbally or in writing, and accompanied by a present in either kind or money, equivalent to a single meal of the Brahman, valued according to the means and hospitality of the donor. The amount, in short, may vary from two annas to a rupee, but ordinarily it is only four annas. Upon this the pandit writes down his opinion, or *vyavastha*, and then action is taken thereupon. In case exception is taken to the recorded opinion of one pandit by another, the point is referred to a third man of superior reputation. But in any case the vyavastha of a duly recognised authority absolves people who take action upon it from all further responsibility in regard to right conduct. It is of very great importance, therefore, to have it definitely settled whose *vyavastha* should carry the greatest weight with the lay people, the masses of the community. Thus it will appear that the theory of the Hindu law finds its counterpart in the practice of the communal system of the family, the village and the caste. And that by the joint action of communal entertainments the system of land-tenures, the hierarchy of castes, and spiritual supremacy of the Brahmans, the entire economy of the village community is reconciled with the behests of the shastras.

Let us now examine some general features of the system above described. The village community is part of a larger organisation called the *samaj*, and they both have a great deal to do with caste, on the one hand, and joint-families on the other. The society has to be viewed first of all in connexion with the land on which the people dwell, and upon the produce of which they live. This land is held upon two kinds of tenure, one of a permanent character, which imparts to the holders thereof a position of the highest consequence, and the other, of a temporary character suited to the immigrant population who hold them. The holders of both kinds of tenure are further differentiated in various ways. But, as a whole, there is a relation of subordination between them. And they are to a certain extent ranged in hierarchical order, though in this respect the current usage seems to have diverged considerably from what the shastras would show to have once existed. How far the political changes in the country may have contributed to a discordance between the hierarchical relation of different castes, the several orders of Indian landed tenures and the actual and professed occupation of each caste, is not easy to ascertain. But certain it is that the Brahmans stand at the top of the hierarchy from a religious point of view, whereas in regard to the landed tenures the supremacy of the Brahmans is exceptional. No doubt Brahman rajas and zamindars are often to be found, but even as such they have to respect the spiritual functions set apart for the Hindu priesthood. The zamindari functions, on the contrary, are entirely of a temporal kind. And the supremacy of the proprietary body in temporal affairs is as pronounced as that of the Brahmans in spiritual. It is not, therefore, the village zamindar or the *Goshthipati* and his peers alone, nor the Brahmanic priesthood alone, who govern the Hindu society, but it is a kind of double government which has prevailed ever since the Hindu shastras were written. Nothing to my mind so distinctly proves the abovementioned feature of our social or political constitution as the fact that the temporal authority, *e.g.*, Raja, Goshthipati, or Zamindar, may prohibit the services of a *guru* or *purohit* being rendered to an offender or accepted by the community, *i.e.*, when the Guru or purohit himself has to be punished, just as the services of the village barber and washerman may be prohibited. In the cases alluded to the supremacy of the Brahmans as a community is not disregarded; but so far a the individual Brahman is concerned, as an accused person, or as an instrument of communal government, the fiat comes not from the priestly, but the temporal, authority of the community. The Brahman priest is supreme in spiritual matters, but the Raja, the Goshthipati, the Talukdar and the Zamindar (I am purposely avoiding the caste question in this connexion) are equally supreme in temporal matters. The Hindu society is composed of many ranks, but all subordinate to the two, one of whom is admittedly the Brahman, and the other, an analogue of the K'hettriya. Each section is autonomous in every respect, except that they altogether form a complete whole with the two named above.

We know that in temporal matters the zamindars have all along exercised large powers: they have had a small police—the village paiks and chowkedars—under them, and must also have had some arrangements for military operations. But the most singular feature with them is that they have never tried (at least not since the legendary days of Parasuram) to usurp the functions of the priesthood nor, to dominate over them. Nor have the Brahmans ever sought to unite in their hands the temporal functions as well as the spiritual. As a zamindar, a Brahman might certainly act the part of a K'hettriya, but in such cases the spiritual functions are never made, or sought to be made, co-extensive with temporal functions. This shows why the theocratic character attributed to the Brahmans and Brahmanic caste is in no way tenable. We have never had a King who was also the head of the church, nor a Pope who dispensed the temporalities of the country. The supremacy of the Brahmans, as prescribed in the shastras, and as upheld by current usage, consists simply in the veneration shown them by all other Hindu castes and the moral weight attached to the Brahmanic vyavastha on contested points. In this last named connexion we know that the Brahmans themselves only determine from time to time, and in a rough way, who is the most learned man among them. This question, as we have seen, is settled on independent occasions, *i.e.*, those of large communal entertainment. And when afterwards a question of law is raised by any member of the community, the Brahman's vyavastha simply declares what conduct is in accordance with the Hindu shastras, and what is not. The autonomy of the Brahmans themselves imparts to this vyavastha the character of what I can only call a moral injunction, and that of one coming from the Brahman community of the samaj. The injunction is finally enforced only by the temporal authorities, whether these be the head men or peerage of the community to a member of whom it was issued, or the zamindars of the village to whom such member and his peers are subordinate. Thus it would appear that the relations of the Church and State have been definitively settled in Hindu society upon the very same principle which M. Comte has so recently set forth as part of his scheme of sociocracy (I make use of the word "church" in the absence of a more suitable one). Whatever, therefore, a spirit of religious fanaticism may impel people to say against the Brahmanism of India, or the positive polity of Comte, the facts submitted above will, I hope, afford a strong testimony in support of either of these systems, which have been so independently brought out, and from such opposite ends of the globe. Sociocratic Brahmanism may be presumed to be sound, if only for this reason, that one of the most advanced thinkers of the day has, in Europe, independently arrived at a solution of the social problem so closely similar to it. And on the other hand, Utopian as some people may stigmatise Comte's system to be, there is every reason to expect for it a stability greater than that of Indian Brahmanism, since it embodies all the experience of Europe from Thales down to Comte himself.

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.

ART. III.—ALGERIA.

A FRENCH DEPENDENCY.

FIFTY years have elapsed since the invasion and conquest of this province of North Africa by the French. The idea was started by the Legitimist Monarchy, carried out by the Constitutional Monarchy. Under the Imperial regime the greatest attention was paid to the welfare of the country; under the Republic an attempt is being made to introduce civil government, and, as a corollary to the complete domination of Algeria, a policy of expansion has been inaugurated by the practical annexation of the adjacent province of Tunisia, while energetic endeavours are being made to unite the French province of St. Louis on the river Senegâl to Algeria by a railroad. This means annexation of the Sahâra and gradual absorption of Morocco on the west, and Tripoli on the east, which will constitute a first-rate African kingdom. The independence of Egypt will be more than imperilled by so powerful a neighbour; and Europe must then, if not before, interfere.

From this point of view only is the expansion of French power in Northern Africa to be deplored. The extinction of the weak and retrograde Mahometan domination was absolutely necessary, to allow these once fertile provinces to regain their old position as the granaries of Europe. France is the only European power that has the strength and the will to make and retain the conquest. The pretensions of Spain and Portugal to the Western portion of the Coast belong to the past; their population is not sufficient for their home-requirements, and they have not the resources for a great struggle. Fifty years hence Italy might possibly be ready; but the pear seems to be ripe and ready to fall, and the solution of such a problem cannot be deferred till a particular nation is strong enough to take a part in it. The kingdom of Greece might, on the same grounds, put in a claim for a share, obviously without the power to obtain or retain it. The Northern Powers can afford to look on with quiet disdain. It is a positive advantage to commerce to get rid of the Mahometan system. Bismarck is credited with a kind of Satanic delight at seeing his enemy thus weakening her resources. England can feel nothing but a quiet satisfaction at seeing her friend developing her energies in North Africa, on the Senegâl, in Cochin China, and the New Hebrides, regions beyond the orbit of English influence and interests, for the very simple reason that they are, and probably will ever remain, entirely unprofitable.

It does not lie in the mouth of an Englishman, leastways of an Anglo-Indian, to dwell on the moral side of the question, on the iniquity of foreign conquest, and the destruction of national independence:—the story of Afghanistan and the Transvaal is too fresh in the annals of the time. It can only be surmised that great nations are periodically liable to savage outbursts of lust for conquest and annexation; that they feel that they have the strength of a giant and must use it, even if it be to their own shame and injury. Whenever this tendency exhibits itself in another Power, it is at once sternly condemned: no words are too strong for the reprobation, but, when the fierce privilege is indulged in, however wantonly, it is qualified at home by the necessity of vindicating national honor or the public weal. This is the light in which, with a kind of pitying wonder, the policy of France fifty years ago, when it annexed Algeria, and during the present year, when it has laid its hands upon Tunisia, must be regarded. The object of the following pages is to describe the manner in which the French nation rules subject peoples, and the degree of qualification which it possesses for introducing Occidental notions of justice and equality without offending hopelessly against Oriental prejudices.

Great Britain has under its control, constitutional colonies, such as Canada, Australia, the Cape of Good Hope, and others: Crown Colonies, such as Gibralter, Malta, Hong-Kong and others: and Subject-Empires, such as British India. The circumstances of each class are very different, and the attitude of the mother country is not the same to all. That Great Britain has succeeded in the mighty work of colonisation by her own people is a fact which history can testify: that France has failed seems a fact that cannot be doubted. It requires no great skill for a superior military power to hold possession of a Crown Colony, such as Malta, or Hong-Kong. Portugal is able to do thus much. But the most difficult problem is the last, *viz.*, to rule a Subject-Empire firmly, yet justly; to give every blessing of civil and religious liberty, while independent municipal institutions and political liberty are sternly denied, as a necessity of foreign domination. In this particular, England may be said to have, to a certain extent, succeeded: Portugal and Spain have miserably failed in Asia, Africa, and America. Holland is considered to have had but scant success, and France is still on her trial.

There are abundant books published in France to help us to form a judgment with regard to the success of the last fifty years in Algeria, and I approach the subject without prejudice, and with the advantage of a tolerably accurate knowledge of British India during the same period. The problem is, therefore, one that is not strange to me, and I have further had the opportunity of personally examining the administrative system of Turkey in Asia and Egypt. The great story of Roman domination in North Africa is to me not unfamiliar, and my particular attention has of late been turned to the state of the people of Africa generally, North and South of the Equator. I have long had it in my mind to do, what I now propose to do, succinctly and impartially. M. Mercier, a Frenchman, who has resided in Algeria, for twenty-six years, has opportunely published a volume in French, called "Fifty years of a Colony, or Algeria in 1880," in which he impartially, and with full knowledge, reviews the history of the vacillating policy of the mother country, and the progress of the Colony. Another accomplished Frenchman, Jules Duval, who devoted his life and best talents to the interests of Algeria, published several volumes in his life time, and since his death his Essays, written at different intervals in leading periodicals, have been published collectively, and are store-houses of facts and suggestions. Meritorious works have been published by English authors, too, as Algeria has become of late a place of resort for invalids who seek to avoid the winter of Europe.

The physical appearance of the country is simple. There are three regions: I. "The Tell," extending from the sea shore to a distance varying from fifty to one hundred miles,—an undulating cultivated strip of territory, but including the Atlas mountains, which run right across the province, and the mountainous home of the Kabyles. II. The "High Plateau," formed by vast plains, separated by parallel ranges of mountains, increasing in height as they recede from the Tell, and again decreasing, as they approach the third region, the Sahára. During seasons of copious rain, and where there are means of irrigation, this plateau produces abundant crops of cereals, but otherwise it presents to the eye an unbroken stretch of stunted scrub-plants, on which browse the herds and camels of the Nomad Arab. The third region, or "Sahára," consists of the Lower Desert to the East, on the confines of Tunisia, and the Higher Desert, which extends into the kingdom of Morocco. Their features are quite distinct. The moving sand, which is conventionally supposed to be a feature of the Sahára tract, is found in both, but does not cover one-third of the region. In the Higher Desert there are rocky steppes, and the depressions between these are filled with sand: the greatest depression not exceeding fifteen hundred feet above sea level. In the Lower Sahára not one point reaches that altitude. In the one, the plateau is the prevailing feature, in the other, the depression; in the one, rocks abound, in the other, they are totally absent. These facts should be borne in mind, now that it is contemplated to traverse this region by railways, to inundate portions with the waters of the Mediterranean, and to pierce it here and there with artesian wells.

The political divisions are the central province of Algiers; the province of Oran on the west, extending to the frontier of Morocco, and the province of Constantine to the east, extending to the frontier of Tunisia. Algiers and Oran are sea ports; Constantine is inland, but connected by railway with the port of Philippeville. Betwixt Constantine and Algiers is the famous country of Kabylia; the Eastern division has Borgie for its port, and the Kabylia of Jhurjura has Dellys for its port. These are the African highlands, so celebrated for their picturesque beauty, and the dauntless independence of their indigenous inhabitants.

In the time of the Romans the Province of Oran was known as Mauretania Cæsariensis; the province of Algiers corresponds with Mauretania Sitifensis, and the province of Constantine with Numidia. Space is wanting to go back to the time of Syphax and Masinissa, or to those still more antient days, when Carthage was the ruling Power in Africa. There appear to be no remnants of indigenous African races, such as are found south of the Sahara. When the first Phœnician settlement, who were of the Semitic family, came from Asia by sea to North Africa, they found races already in possession, cognate with the ancient Egyptians, belonging to what is generally called the Hamitic family; but it is reasonably supposed that these were also immigrants from Asia at a still more remote period by land. These races were called haughtily by their superior Arian conqueror by a name which survives in the word Berber, and the language which they speak, extends under varying dialectal varieties from the oasis of Ammon on the east to the Canary islands, on the West, and southward to the basin of the rivers Senegal and Upper Niger, and the confines of Lake Chad. They are the same people who resisted the Romans, and they have preserved their speech in spite of the successive domination of Vandals and Arabs, though the ancient Egyptians have lost their language.

Of the first invasion of the Semitic family, the Phœnician Colony of Carthage, nought remains, but a few inscriptions, but many centuries later came a second invasion of the Semitic family, bringing with it the new religion of Mahomet, and the Nomad Arabs established themselves as the superior race, and imparted their faith to their inferior, if not subjugated, neighbours. There was a period of splendor and prosperity during the time when the Mahometan power subjugated Spain, and threatened Sicily and Italy. But the tide turned; Spain not only freed herself, but carried reprisals into Africa, and for a long period Oran was occupied by the Spaniards. In the meantime the town of Algiers passed into the hands of pirates, under the nominal Suzerainty of Turkey, and became for centuries the public enemy of Europe.

The poetry and prose of Spain, France and Italy tell what seems to us now the wonderful story, that the ordinary navigation of the Mediterranean was normally exposed to perils which at the present days seem incredible. Thousands of Christian slaves languished in African prisons, or were redeemed by heavy payments: special charities and religious fraternities were founded to do the pious work of liberating unfortunate galley slaves. The fact is testified by clauses in wills, leaving sums for the purpose, inscriptions in churches, the plot of many a play, the thrilling portion of many a story. Cervantes himself had been a captive, and in Don Quixote one of the most celebrated stories is on this theme. Even in the city of London special charities exist for the liberation of slaves with the Moors, which have now been diverted to the duty of educating the Arabs of the streets. The evil had become intolerable, and continued down into this century: no sooner was peace restored to Europe in 1815, than England undertook to chastise the Dey of Algiers, and in 1816 captured Algiers, and set no less than three thousand Christian captives free. But this lesson was not sufficient to bring down the pride of the savage dynasty, for in the course of an altercation about the compensations due by the French Government to a Jewish subject of Algiers, the Dey had the impudence with his own hand to strike the French Consul, and declined to make any apology This led to an invasion in 1830 in force by the French, then ambitious of recovering their lost military renown, the dethronement and banishment of the Dey, and the occupation of the country. And from whatever point of view it may be regarded, surely it is a distinct gain to civilization, that such an abominable Government should be put an end to, and, the north of Africa brought under the influence of European civilization.

Nature has been bountiful to Algeria, both in its soil and its climate. Its geographical position fits it to become the entrepot of an annually increasing trade. It possesses in itself the potentiality of unlimited expansion by a more scientific husbanding of resources, and a vast increase of population, and therefore of cultivated area. The products of India and North America have to be conveyed great distances; the products of Algeria are within easy distance of Spain, France and Italy, and its earlier harvests of European products enables it to supply the markets of those countries with fruits and vegetables in anticipation of the tardier harvests of Northern climates. The legend of the city of Rome having been fed with the corn, and other agricultural wealth of North Africa has come down to us, and appeared almost incredible, considering how scanty were the exports from that continent under its Mahometan rulers. But the exhibitions of London in 1851, and Paris in 1855, 1867 and 1877, opened the eyes of Europe to the extent of the resources hitherto undreamt of. Cereals, oils, fruits, fodder, wines, fibres, tobacco, cotton, silk, wool, dies, wood, marbles, minerals, all these are forthcoming: it would appear, that in some portions of the Colony are found the products of the North, in other portions, the products of tropical climates. Some of these are long established in the country: other industries have been introduced by the French. Mines have been re-opened, or worked more scientifically: every mineral, but gold, seems to have come to hand. The culture of the vine, forbidden by the Mahometan, appears to have been most successful, and the phylloxera of France has been Algeria's opportunity. There can be no doubt, that, under a wise Government, and with congenial institutions, Algeria has in it elements of wealth and prosperity.

A contemplation of history, past and present, leads to the conviction, that all depends upon the inhabitants and their institutions. Australia and North America remained for centuries unproductive, until the time came that the virgin soil was broken up by the stout arms of the Anglo-Saxon. Other countries of fabulous fertility have died away, like Mesopotamia, for want of men. Even an abundance of men is not sufficient to perpetuate prosperity without good government, and the history of British India, during the last fifty years, tells the tale how material wealth, expanded culture, and increased commerce, are the sure results of a strong and equitable rule. On the other hand, countries, not naturally fertile, have been brought to a high state of productiveness by the determined industry, and the sound institutions, of the people. We thus see, that three elements are required for the sustained well-being of a country: productiveness of soil natural or artificial: sufficiency, and capacity of population, and a good government. Before we proceed to describe the nature of the institutions introduced by the French in Algeria, we must notice the living material, with which they had to deal. With the exception of a considerable number of Jews, the whole population, exceeding two millions, are Mahometans, partly Arab, partly Berber, or a cross betwixt the two: partly dwelling in villages with the institution of individual property, partly Nomadic with the property held in common by the tribe. Thus it will appear, that there were no rival religions to balance against each other, an exceedingly sparse population for so large an area, the fatal defects of Nomadic habits and tribal holding of land, and the entire absence of manufactures. Owing to the habits of piracy, no seaborne commerce existed: by land the intercourse with the neighbouring states of Morocco and Tunisia, was most restricted: if caravans found their way across the Sahara to the Sudan, slaves were the chief objects of the commerce. Of freedom of religion, freedom of travel, education, enlightment, and progress, there existed no trace whatever.

It may be, that the population has been described in colours which are too dark, and that rumour spoke worse things of them than the facts justified. This certainly is the case with regard to the Sahara. As it has become better known, its fabulous horrors have been reduced, and it has been discovered, that the arts of civilization, by storing surface water, and piercing artesian wells, can turn a desert into a garden, collect scattered population, and increase indefinitely the number of smiling oases, some of which had survived through all ages, as a token of what was possible, by the sole agency of abundance of water. M. Duval, to whom we have alluded above, draws particular attention to the undeveloped resources of the Sahara, and the evidence of better things in former times in the existence of ruins half buried in sand. The industry of man has sometimes on the shore of the sea, or in the basins of rivers, to contend against excess of water by strong embankments, or to drain marshes caused by imperfect levels: in the desert that same industry and engineering skill can triumph over obstacles of a different kind, and the success which has attended the efforts of the French, augurs well for the future. It must be remembered, that the Sahara is not a dead level, but presents an infinite variety of surface, and the indigenous inhabitants have in their rude way stored the surface drainings, or pierced rude wells, erected their huts upon some elevated ground, planted palm trees, erected walls to protect their gardens from the encroachment of the sand, or the attacks of the Nomads. But their labours till now have lacked stability and scientific supervision, and intestine wars and tribal feuds have often proved fatal. The wonderful date-palm is the feature of such desert-settlements, tall, elegant, fruitful, clustering together in dense forests. The date forms one of the main staples of the food of the people. Under the shade of these palms spring up figs, pomegranates, peaches, and a coarse kind of grape. The rare beauty of these oases is described in the brightest colours, as the verdure of the trees, and the cool shade present a grateful contrast to the lurid yellow heat of the sand. Animal life is described as gathering to these retreats. Professional surveys have been made of this region; eye-witnesses testify to the reality, and the English traveller can travel by coach from Constantine, to Biskra and satisfy himself of it. During a certain season of the year the steppes are covered with a luxuriant and spontaneous vegetation, and a wealth of flowers, supplying pasture to herds of unlimited magnitude, and the pastoral life is the necessary complement of the argricultural life of the other portions of the province. We must not place an undue value upon this region, and, while the area of the Tell and the high plateau regions is so thinly populated, it would be premature to dream of colonies in the Sahara; but its immediate occupation and domination have been found to be a political necessity. No civilized country can tolerate a "No man's land" in its neighbourhood, as it becomes the refuge of rebels and criminals, as witness the jungle of Central India in the old days, the bush of Australia and South Africa in modern times. The French Government has therefore extended its jurisdiction to certain oases, notably Laghouat, Geryville, Biskra, and Tuggurt.

Beyond the actual confines of the province, to the south, lies the mysterious oasis of Tuat, a district of considerable size, enjoying a desert independence. Here all the caravans from the north meet, from Ghat, Ghadames, Tripoli, Nepta, Algiers and Morocco, to form a united party to traverse the great desert which separates them from the Sudán, and the kingdoms of Timbuktu on the Niger and Haussa. The residents of the oasis of Tuat are Berbers of the same stock, but speaking a dialect affected by alien elements from the south. England has a Consul at Ghadames, and if the reproachful narrative of M. Duval is to be trusted, the commerce of these caravans is in the hands of the English, an advantage resulting to them from the imperfect administration of Algeria. The most enlightened Frenchman can never free himself from the deep-rooted conviction, that all depends upon the action of the State, while the Anglo-Saxon, whether in England or North America, knows that all success results from the uncontrolled energies of the people.

Though the fact is unrecorded in history, there is reason to believe that for many generations and centuries there has been an intercourse of caravans betwixt the Sudán and the provinces of North Africa. Like the navigation of the ocean, it is indeed attended by dangers, but it is stated that natives of Algeria are to be met with who have found their way backwards and forwards to Timbuktu no less than eighteen times, and for proper remuneration travellers are always found ready to make the journey. The physical danger and suffering are aggravated by the savage character of the Nomad tribes, who infest the main tracks, and levy tolls from the merchants. But all these features are known elsewhere, and yield to better acquaintance, mutual advantage, and the gradual infiltration of civilization. The Tuwáregs as stated above, are Berbers in a wild and uncultivated state, who have been pushed back into these inhospitable tracts by the more powerful races who occupied the better favoured regions. The fact of their using an indigenous alphabet, only gradually giving way to the Arabic written character, marks their position in the ladder of culture far above that of the negro or the savage. Their religion sits lightly upon them, and they have conserved many ancient customs, such as great freedom to the women, and descent of inheritance to the sister's son in preference to direct issue. It may be premature to discuss the lines of Railway going to be opened from Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco to the Sudán. The work of civilisation appears to require the labour of a century rather than of the few years already bestowed upon it. Good organised caravans, proceeding at stated periods, within a reasonable time, appear to be the practical aim which any English administrator would place before his eyes in this generation. He would mark out stations by the most convenient route at fixed distances; conciliate the Nomads by regular payments, and firm yet gentle treatment; teach them new arts, and accustom them to unheard-of luxuries for themselves and their women. Their right to levy tolls, if they protect the passing caravans, would be admitted, and thus gradually a reign of order would be inaugurated. It is not clear, that the extent of the commerce thus nursed and encouraged would for many a long year cover the initial cost, or pay the working expenses, of the cheapest form of Railway. The presence of the hated iron line would be sufficient to rouse the fiercest passions, and we can sympathise with these free children of the desert in their determined opposition to the introduction of such an outward and visible sign of foreign domination. The massacre, a few months ago, of Colonel Flatters and his surveying party, is but a forerunner of many such an outbreak. We all know in British India, that the railway and telegraph are the emblems, and the agents, and the crowning triumph, of a rule firmly established; no one has dreamt of a line connecting Quetta with Candahar, since the Afghan spectre vanished into the air, and British India awoke from the nightmare which for two years had oppressed it. The Tekke Tartars look upon the Railway from the Caspian to Askabad as a badge of subjection, and will tear it up on the first opportunity. So will it be in this generation, and probably the next, with the Tuwáreg of the Sahára.

Such then is the country, and such are the people, with whom the French have had to deal. In the whole of the half century of occupation circumstances have been in their favour. They have had plenty of money and plenty of men, and they have been willing to bury a great deal of both in Algeria. No hostile fleet in the Mediterranean has intercepted their convoys: no long

European war has weakened their resources: no change of dynasty, ministry, or form of government, has modified the fixed determined policy to occupy Algeria. The captive sovereign, whom they displaced, was deported with his family, and neither have been heard of since. The patriot Abdul Kadir, after waging an unsuccessful war of liberty, gave in and was deported also. The Sultan of Turkey gave up with a good will his rights as a Suzerain, and, being used to the process of amputation of limbs, made no sign of dissatisfaction at the blow inflicted upon his rights as a sovereign, and the heavier blow upon the religion of which he pretends to be spiritual head. Europe looked on in silence: Italy at first was too disunited, and after that, was too indebted to France for her own liberty to make any objection to the occupation of Algeria. The extension of that power to Tunisia, and the creation of a new Carthage, as a rival to old Rome, has not been submitted to so calmly. Spain and Portugal, which might have looked upon the African Coast, or at least the province of Oran, as their own, were too weak to raise even a cry of remonstrance. Morocco submitted to the existence of a new neighbour at her very doors in sullen silence, and has been careful of giving offence. The Bey of Tunis did more, and entertained friendly relations, feeling no doubt all the time that cold shiver which indicated that some one was walking over his grave. The sturdy mountaineers of the Kabylia at last gave in, and knuckled down to the new system. Be it ever remembered, that the struggle has been one of a united nation of forty millions, in the foremost rank of civilisation, with every appliance of modern warfare, and an army and navy of the first class in the world, against a weak, disunited congeries of tribes, not exceeding two millions, in a low state of culture, entirely devoid of military science, or standing army, with a long, unprotected sea coast, dotted with practicable harbours, the whole of which were within in ten days' voyage from Toulon and Marseilles. Such were the opportunities.

From the first to the last the province has been ruled by a military Administrator, in spite of the constant protest of public writers at Paris. At this moment the Governor-General is a civilian, the brother of M. Grevy, the President; but it is clear that the principles upon which the administration is based are not those which in Europe are considered to be essential to civil administration. Let us sum them up:—the judicial courts independent of the executive: the reservation of the power of making laws to the Legislature, however constituted; the prohibition to any soldier to do any act of any kind, until called upon to do so according to law by the Civil Magistrate, or ordered to do so by the Civil Governor, to whom the commander of the forces is entirely and completely subordinate; the subordination of the Civil Governor to the head of a civil department of the ministry of the mother country. We have a striking instance of this in British India. If there is a fault in that system, it is that in some cases, such as that of the frontier forces, the civil power has intruded upon the strict prerogative of the military authorities. But, as a fact, during the last half century, in the newly annexed province, as in the oldest, no soldier, as such, has the least authority over the people of the country. If any military officer is employed in any civil department, for that period he ceases to be a soldier, or under the orders of the commander of the forces, just as much as a military or naval officer in England ceases, while on civil employ, to be more than nominally in the army. It is true, that in non-regulation districts the civil executive officer exercises judicial functions, and that the civil executive occasionally issues ordinances having the force of law, yet under no circumstances, short of rebellion, when military law is formally substituted, does the Commander of the forces exert any authority, except over the soldiers and camp-followers. We do not allude to freedom of the press, freedom of speech, freedom of locomotion, freedom of culture, freedom of education, freedom of commerce; such are the privileges and peculiarities of the Anglo Saxon alone in his mother country, his colonies, and subject-dominions, extended to all under the British flag; but such privileges are unknown in their entirety to any other nations, except England and the United States, and are not, therefore, necessarily a constituent portion of a civil administration.

What was the conception formed at Paris under a constitutional Government, continued under an Empire, and allowed to continue under a Republic? The control in the mother country is vested in the Minister of War, who and his subordinates, contrary to the English practice, are always soldiers. The Governor-General was to within a short period, and probably will soon be so again, a Marshall of France, commanding the troops, with the instincts and weaknesses of a soldier, and totally ignorant of the very elements of civil government. Under him were three Generals of division, placed over the civil and military jurisdiction of Algiers, Oran and Constantine: in each division there were sub-divisions under the control of Generals or Field officers. Gradually, as time went on, and French colonists established villages, a distinction arose between two kinds of districts: 1, those, which might be called more completely civil, and where property was held in severalty; 2, those which might be called tribal districts, where the land was held in common by the tribe. Over the former, presided prefects, and sub-prefects, after the fashion of France: over the latter, the "Bureau Arabe," the peculiar feature of Algeria, an institution, with regard to which we shall have more to say, for from one point of view, they seem to have done their duty nobly, and protected the natives against the overbearing colonist: from another point of view, they appear justly open to the severe condemnation, heaped upon them by some of the Parisian journalists, by one of whom this sentiment is expressed, the result of experience, as the writer himself had spent some years in Algeria, that the worst form of civil government was preferable to the best system of military government. We agree in this sentiment; for such rule is the worst form of personal rule: the military officer is liable to constant removal from military considerations; he is entirely ignorant of the language of a people, with whom he has come in contact for the first time: of the laws, the customs having the force of law, the procedure, the details of administration, he is as totally and entirely ignorant as the civilian is of the drill, and the orderly room:—the French soldier has, moreover, a hearty disdain for the Pequin, or civilian, even in France: what would be his feelings towards the Arab, the Berber, and the Algerian Jew?

Those who are acquainted with the details of our rule in British India, can realize what this meant by imagining the disappearance from that country of the Viceroy, his council, the high courts, and all the civil staff from the Lieutenant-Governor down to the Magistrate, and the Commander-in-Chief being vested with the power of civil governor, the divisional generals, increased in numbers, placed in charge of the jurisdiction now exercised by Commissioners in the Punjab, and field officers exercising the power of the deputy commissioners; officers fresh from England, and not relieved of regimental duties, moving about according to the annual reliefs, ignorant of language, customs, law, and routine: no doubt they would be brave, honourable, right-minded men, a little hasty, and self-willed, quite ready to draw the sword and take strong measures. We can imagine them the dupes of their native officials, the native police and revenue officials in the so-called civil districts. On the other hand, the Bureau Arabe, entrusted to able and competent officers, would be very effective, though rather high-handed, and jealous of interference. That such is the case, there can be no doubt, as one of the complaints against them, is that they stand up against their countrymen in the interest of the people entrusted to them, a fault of which the majority of the officials in British India are, we are thankful to say, equally guilty, and that, though technically subordinate to the officer commanding the district, they are prone to exert an independent authority, which, considering that they are well acquainted with the people from continuous residence, and that the commanding officers are birds of passage, and totally ignorant, is not a matter of surprise or regret.

It occupied quite twenty-seven years to obtain full military possession of the country, and the progress of the French arms was chequered by great disasters: however, in 1857 peace was restored, and the French domination fully established over the whole of Algeria, with a population of two and a half millions. No doubt, some of the institutions came into existence during these times of trouble, and outlived the necessity which created them, from the operation of that tenacity of life which is often the lot of antiquated and useless offices. It is quite clear and admitted by the chronicler of the fifty years' occupation, who was himself a witness of what he relates, that the French government entered upon and carried through the conquest of Algeria without any fixed plan, any decided policy: they were taken aback by the extreme facility with which the conquest was made, and hung back from the responsibility, risk, and expense of direct occupation. They would gradually have made it over to some subservient native chieftain, but it was not to be, and France, during a quarter of a century, had a costly struggle, and for another quarter a costly possession.

The first pressing question was: how to deal with the native tribes, so as to keep them in order, and yet not drive them to rebellion? After futile attempts to do this by the agency of an "Agha of the Arabs," selecting a Turk, or a Frenchman, or a native for that office, the idea of selecting a special body of officers, and making over to them the duty of holding relations with the natives, something analogous to the Political Agents in British India, was as early as 1832 approved, and Captain Lamoriciere was the first head of the "Bureau Arabe." With a properly constituted civil government, supplied with police, revenue and judicial officers, who lived among the people, such an institution would have been superfluous; but while power was centered in the ill-informed Commandant of the troops, the Bureau Arabe became a necessity, a great help to the conquest, and the cause of great blessing to the people. Marshal Bugeaud, in 1841, definitely fixed their jurisdiction: under them were the native Caids, and under them a subordinate Staff of native officials, much as they existed anterior to the conquest. One cannot fail to recognize the wisdom and policy of this measure; the only wonder is, that it was not permitted gradually to enfranchise itself of military control, and expand into the full proportions of civil government. A kind of political instinct seems to suggest, that this development must take place still. The officers of the Bureau Arabe seem, indeed, to have become "ipsis Hibernis Hiberniores," to have adopted the Arab dress, to have gone about surrounded by Arab chiefs and horsemen, to have gone in for being friends of the people. Perhaps they were right in protecting the tribal lands of the Nomads from the appropriation of land-speculators, and agricultural companies; perhaps they were wrong in adopting the loose social views of their protégés, and forgetting that they were Christians, and gentlemen: but such men as these are of the same type and brotherhood as that great and glorious body of political officers, and non-regulation administrators, who have saved British India in the hour of peril, kept at bay the men with the red-tape and the revenue sponge, and staved off rebellion in newly annexed provinces by the iron hand in the velvet glove, the personal rule, the rough and ready administration, the gallant and daring bearing, which awed and attached, and at length subdued, those who came under their influence. Such men are handed to us in the legends of Northern India, Sleeman and Dixon, John Nicholson and James Abbott, and many others, who respected and loved the people whom it was their destiny to rule, and who were respected and loved in return.

Let us hear what the French historian says of the officers of the Bureau Arabe:—"The results obtained by the energy, tact, "and spirit of justice of some of these officers were remarkable. "Some of their names have become entwined in the legends of "the people. With their lives always in their hands, without "the possibility of any success or escape, they learnt the art of "disarming their antagonists by their dauntless bearing, and "established a respect for the French name, and thus brought "about a state of security of life and property previously unknown. "Their mode of procedure was inexorable severity, rapid con-"ception of plans, and instant execution, and such a policy was "indispensable to rule such a people. From the first they dazzled "the eyes and daunted the spirit of the tribes, and established "the moral superiority of a dominant race." If to this be added open handedness, *purity of morals*, unflinching truthfulness, and a wealth of pardon and forgiveness without limit, the art of ruling subject-races in an inferior state of culture is revealed:— Failure can always be traced to some niggard economy, some low deceit, some rancorous revenge, some discreditable intrigue.

Unhappily the best of institutions have a tendency to decay, or to transformation, from the influence of lower motives. The exercise of uncontrolled power brings with it the seeds of its own ruin. The Bureau Arabe did not escape this fatality. The head of the Bureau Arabe became a Sultan, or, in Anglo-Indian parlance, "Bahadur," and roused the envy of his brother officers on military service, and the indignation of the French colonists.

Their honesty was suspected, and instead of courting, they resented, the criticism of the public press. In 1857 arose a terrible scandal in one of the Bureaus; all the years of good service were forgotten, and the failure of one led to the unjust condemnation of all.

The constant change of the political horizon in the mother country appears to have had a disastrous effect on the institutions of the colony. In 1848 the republic inaugurated a dualism of civil and military authorities, which must have ended in conflicts, for Frenchmen seem incapable of conceiving the simplicity of a civil administration with the Military Department in entire subordination. With the Empire in 1851, the military authorities obtained predominance, because political offenders were deported from France to Algeria, and the necessity of further military operations became paramount.

In 1858 a ministry of Algiers and the Colonies was created under the superintendence of Prince Jerome Napoleon, the victorious Plonplon, who never even visited Algeria, but who initiated a number of reforms, some premature, all abortive, for the war in Italy broke out the next year, and his connexion with Algiers at once ceased. The tendency of his reforms was to increase the extent of territory under civil government, and to restrict that under Military Government, and to introduce the system of provincial councils in each of the three civil departments. A considerable expropriation of land was proposed by allotting to each tribe a proportion supposed to be sufficient for their wants, and appropriating the remainder to French colonisation. Moreover, the portion allotted to the tribes was to be divided as personal property to each individual. Bureau Arabes with a civil complexion were to replace similar institutions with a military complexion in certain localities.

These measures were abortive; they were well intentioned, but mistaken. Of what possible use could a council be in the administration of departments in their rudimentary state of civilization? An intelligent Civil Commissioner was sufficient to work out the principles laid down by the Governor for his guidance. What a deep sense of injustice would be roused among the tribes at the sight of the reduction of their ancestral grazing grounds, and the sale and grant of their lands to French colonists? It is well to have a giant's strength, but not to use it as a giant. The notion of individual, as opposed to tribal, property is one that can only be inculcated gradually.

The Emperor Napoleon visited Algeria in 1860, and another change took place. Marshall Pelissier was made Governor, corresponding direct with Emperor; military predominance was again established, and the Bureau Arabes of the military type had another turn of triumph. More than that, in a famous letter in 1863, the Emperor announced to the Marshall, that Algeria was not a colony in the ordinarily accepted sense of the term, but an *Arab kingdom.* This raised a violent excitement among the French colonists, who had been tempted to invest their money in the country, and who protested strongly against the idea; but their delegates to Paris were not admitted to an audience, and the Emperor carried out his policy, and ordered surveys to be made, and the property of the tribes to be reserved to their use.

In maintaining a military regime, the Emperor may have been wrong, but in protecting the tribes from the wholesale spoliation of their land, he was certainly right, and there is truth in his assertion, that Algiers was not a colony, but an Arab kingdom.

In spite, however, of the strong Military government, and the justice promised to the tribes, a serious revolt broke out on the frontier of the Sahara; a French detachment was cut to pieces; the Kabylia rose in arms, and it required the work of a year, and the aid of reinforcements from France, to restore order: Marshall MacMahon succeeded Marshall Pelissier, who is said to have died from vexation at his want of success, and a terrible famine followed. The starving tribes crowded into the cities; half a million are reported to have perished, and acts of cannibalism took place in several localities: the press was strictly gagged, but private letters and an address of the Archbishop of Algeria roused the whole of France. To the sword had succeeded famine; to the famine now succeeded pestilence, to which many of the French colonists succumbed. Alien rulers of great foreign dependencies must calculate on the recurrence of such scourges. Great is the responsibility of a nation, when it charges itself with the care of the weal and woe of subject millions. The most conscientious and parental system of Government may fail to arrest such evils, but it can mitigate their consequences. A vast, unfeeling system, mainly directed to the interests of the alien colonists, will eventuate in the annihilation of the subject races.

The power of the Emperor was unmistakeably growing weaker, when in 1869 the Senate appointed a Commission of Inquiry, the result of which was the determination to abolish the Military system of Government. The news was received with enthusiasm in Algeria. In the meantime the war with Prussia broke out, the Empire disappeared, all the troops were recalled from Algeria to fight the fight of the mother country, the Military government ceased to exist, and by decrees of the Assembly at Bordeaux, a Civil government was established, or supposed to be so, for, in fact, the state of affairs amounted to anarchy. The natives of Algiers looked on in astonishment: gradually they felt that their position and their interests were threatened: the fall of the Emperor, to their notion, relieved them of their allegiance. The Bureau Arabes, finding themselves the subjects of unjust attack, made no exertion to calm the tumult and keep their subordinates in a right state of mind. At length a serious rebellion broke out; and a number of colonists were massacred; order was restored by troops sent from France, but with difficulty. If the natives had commenced their revolt earlier, the disaster might have been much more serious. At any rate, it is a subject of serious reflection, that an unsuccessful or prolonged war in Europe, must entail a rising of the tribes in Algeria. The result of the revolt was the confiscation of a vast area of tribal land.

Under the Presidency of M. Thiers, a system of civil administration was restored, of the usual type, and an Admiral was appointed Governor-General; but he fell in 1873 with M. Thiers, and General Chanzy was appointed Governor-General by the reactionary party. He had been an old chief of the Bureau Arabes, and knew the language and the secret policies of the tribes. He appears to have had singular qualifications for his duty, but, justly or unjustly, he raised against himself the feelings of the colonists, and, when the result of the elections of 1879 crushed the hopes of the reactionists, he retired from office, and was succeeded by the first Civil Governor, M. Albert Grevy, brother of the President of the Republic, who still occupies that post.

General Chanzy's failure was not owing to his wishing to introduce the military system, for he was Civil Governor, and [illegible]ted as such, but because he did what appeared to him justice [illegible] the natives, and therefore drew upon himself the hatred of [illegible]he party of the French colonists. As stated above, a vast territory had been confiscated, and the colonists looked upon this with greedy eyes. But the General felt that a *modus vivendi* must be given to the tribe upon their submission, and he consequently settled them in villages, and assigned them a sufficiency of land;—in fact he allowed them to redeem their own lands. He did his best to carry out the law, establishing individual in lieu of tribal property. Anyone who has studied such subjects knows that such a measure must be the result of time, and of spontaneous action. A less well-informed public opinion fancied that such changes could be effected by a stroke of the pen, and blamed their Governor for the slowness of his reforms.

The question fairly arises—would the Empire of British India have been built up to its present magnificent proportions, if, on every change in home politics, radical changes had been made in the local administration, and the shadows that passed across the sky at home, had been reflected in the distant sea of the subject territory? There is little doubt that the opportunity of adding to, or consolidating, or maintaining, our empire, would have been lost, had there not been an authority like the East India Company, independent of party and insensible to the contemporary current of popular feeling. Sometimes, indeed, a popular cry, a doctrinaire expedient, the craze of some great man or dominant school, has floated over the province, and for a moment infested the pages of the local press, or the discussions of the Council Board—such as the settlement of Englishmen upon waste lands, the general introduction of a perpetual settlement of the land-revenue, the invasion of a neighbouring kingdom like Afghanistan, as a supposed measure of self-defence—but the delusion has soon been lived down, and the rulers of the country have returned to their well understood principles of governing *that great country on the highest principles, and for the benefit of the people of that country.* Esto perpetua!

From the first Algeria was treated as a colony, and schemes of colonisation were made, of the most faulty nature, evidencing the incapacity of the French nation for such enterprises. M. Duval expresses his wonder that the vast stream of emigrants should flow to the United States and the distant English colonies, and not seek out Algeria, which is so much nearer, but the wonder ceases when the history of the fifty years is examined. In 1848 the discontented workmen of the great towns were tempted, by great material assistance, to rid their native country of their presence, but they were not the material for agricultural colonies; an attempt was made to garrison the country with military colon[illegible] but the old soldiers gradually disappeared. To check the schem[illegible] of the land-jobber, concessions were made gratuitously in small lots interlaced with the holdings of others, who were entire strangers, and some of these lots were in numerous detached fields. Those who are familiar with the interior history of villages in British India, can realise the complications arising from such needless entanglement. Moreover, all the concessions were conditional and liable to forfeiture in certain periods, thus rendering all advances to the holders from banks impossible, as there was no freehold to place in mortgage as security. Upon the principle of the Latin races, the State was expected to do everything: to select the village site, to make the roads, to open the canals,—nothing was left to individual choice, or municipal exertion. The gratuitous concession of lands opened the door to favouritism and tedious formalities and delays, instead of the simpler and more acceptable expedient of public sales. Wild schemes were broached, of introducing particular modes of culture and particular products, ending in disappointment. British India has not been entirely free from such snares, as if the experience of centuries had not taught the resident agriculturist the mode of culture most suitable to the soil, and the product likely to give the best return. In the regions confiscated from the tribes, there was always the risk of reprisals from the ancient proprietors, and we read of massacres of whole villages, and hazardous escapes to the cities.

When the Emperor Napoleon, in 1860, announced the new idea of the Arab kingdom, or in other words "Algeria for the Algerians," French colonisation received a rude check, or, in other words, *French citizens were robbed of their patrimony;* for the idea that the waste lands of Algeria belonged to the French people collectively, and not to the Arabs and Berbers who had held them in undisputed possession for centuries, had taken deep root in the public mind, and it will be curious to watch the growth of this idea in the adjoining province of Tunisia. In 1871 justice was again done to the people of France by extensive confiscations, and emigrants from Alsace and Lorraine, who could not brook the domination of their country by the Germans who were people of their own kin and language, left Europe and settled in Kabylia, upon lands which had been held by the free and independent Berbers since the time of the empire of Carthage, so strange is the inconsistency of the human mind when roused by political passion. The ousted Kabyles were not pastoral nomads, but dwellers in houses and villages and cantons, after the manner of the Swiss confederation, living a settled life, practising the ordinary arts of their particular stage of civilisation. The cantons were leagued together in [illegible] kind of savage-band, based upon republican principles, but [illegible]empered by an aristocratic element, evidenced by the existence of families of military or religious origin. It is as if the Government of British India, had ousted some of the time-honoured Rajput settlements in the lower Himalaya, and divided their lands among European colonists, to prove an apparent element of strength, but a certain element of weakness, when the great struggle for Empire has to be again fought out, and the hand of England's might is shortened. The great emigration from Alsace was not a success. Of the ten thousand who landed in Algeria, a great many sold their grants, and disappeared: the void appears to have been filled up by grants to members of the new class, of the issue of French colonists born in the country, with the singular condition, that the grantee should be married, giving, as it were, an incentive to the increase of population.

We have, however, yet to learn whether the issue of French parents in such a climate as North Africa retains the vigour and patriotism of his European parents.

There are two regions in Algeria opened to the colonist: in the littoral region, where the soil is peculiarly fertile, small holdings may be exceedingly remunerative, and life in a village may be tolerable. But in the region of the Tell, where the country rises in successive swells of mountains and valleys to the high plateau, nothing but farming on a great scale can answer, and a piteous picture is drawn of the adventurous colonist who enters upon such an enterprise without abundance of capital,—and capital is just the one thing which the French colonist does not possess. It is worthy of remark, as bearing upon the political future of Algeria, that a very considerable Spanish colony has settled in the province of Oran, and many other nationalities are represented. Experience has told us, that gratitude to the mother country is not to be expected from colonists of the same race, and language: how much less from a motley collection of emigrants from people of other race and language. Moreover, it will long rankle in the mind of the colonist of the next generation, that France has always treated Algeria as a foreign country. Influenced by the political necessity of protecting certain powerful interests at home, the products of the Colony have been placed at a disadvantage. Repeated protests against this unjust fiscal policy have been made, and in vain.

An acute observer remarks that the French peasant, or farmer, is not an emigrant by choice: it is only those who have failed in their own country, that are induced to venture, and these are just the class not likely to succeed. There is no religious persecution now, which has the effect of inducing the very salt of the ear[illegible] to leave their ancestral homes: this germ of colonisation has, thank God! ceased for ever. The Frenchman has now no political necessity to fly his country, and nostalgia is one of his greatest trials, and it has been found in practice, that the facilities of return are too great, and France is too near to her colony. The unsuccessful adventurer returns penniless to his native village, and by painting a sombre picture of the state of affairs, and suppressing all mention of his own misconduct, he discourages others. The real colonist burns his ships, and lays the foundation of a new home, and this is the secret of the success of the Anglo-Saxon colonies. Owing to the strange phonemenon of French domestic life, openly alluded to by religious and secular writers,—that in a French home there is never a large young family,—the material for healthy colonisation is not forthcoming.

It is the surplus,—the young, healthy and vigorous—of young men and women who seek an opening, that enables the English to people the remote parts of the world with a never-ceasing stream of emigrants.

Another strange feature has forced itself into notice this very year. In spite of fifty years' domination the French power has not been so exhibited as to convince the Arab and Berber tribes of the hopelessness of any attempt to throw off the yoke. It is a struggle of a nation of two millions against one of forty, whose resources are within two days' voyage. In British India the problem is being worked out of a population exceeding two hundred millions being kept in subjection by a nation of thirty millions, whose resources are at the distance of one month's voyage, and no doubt there is great peril for the future. It is, indeed, strange to hear of an insurrection in Algeria following at once upon the occupation of Tunisia, and, no doubt, we are by no means at the close of that drama yet. Another notable feature is that the Spanish colonists of Oran, who have suffered so heavily in this insurrection, do not consider themselves French subjects; but those who survived, hurried back to Spain, and urged, through the Spanish Government, a claim to compensation from France for their losses. There may be tea planters of French or German origin in British India, or German and Dutch colonists in South Africa, but we doubt whether any claim to compensation, urged by a foreign Government, would be listened to by the English Government. It would be, indeed, hopeless to found a colony, if the integral parts still maintained their original nationality.

The French colony has escaped the religious snare, and has increased the wrath of the Ultramontane party in consequence. Entire freedom of worship is guaranteed, and there may be said to be no established dominant church. Here, however, the true line of policy has not been followed. We read of mosques converted into churches: this is an outrage unworthy of the century. We read also of mosques erected at the expense of the State: this is an insult to the common Christianity which is presumed to be the heirloom of every French colonist. The priests loudly denounce the firm and prudent government which will not permit, in a Mahometan country, the offensive and needless display of a foreign cult in the public streets; they equally denounce, and with as little reason, the free license allowed, from time immemorial, to the Mahometan to celebrate, in public, in his own country, his annual festivals. Religionists must be blind, who do not perceive the equity which underlies this distinction. The Hindu and Mahometan are allowed in British

India a license of religious external display which would not be tolerated for a moment in England, or in any Christian colony.

Let us examine the returns of the census of the European population in 1877, the latest available.

French, born in France or in Algeira	156,000
Jews	33,000
Other European nations	156,000
Civil establishments	9,000
Army	51,000
Total	405,000

Of the French some are Creoles, that is to say, born of French parents, in the colony, of the second generation, who have never seen France, and who have colonial culture and prejudices. It is shown conclusively that the birth-rate exceeds the death-rate, and that the average number of the family is larger than in France, which is not saying much. Frenchmen may flatter themselves that their colonists will be the same as themselves: we have the notable instance of the French Huguenots of South Africa having passed entirely into the status and culture of Dutch Boers. The French of Canada and the Mauritius care little for France, though very much for their own liberties: it is quite a dream to suppose that the inhabitants of Algeria will identify themselves with France, as soon as they are able to stand alone. Attention is called to the size of the army of occupation, and the cost which that must entail upon the mother country. Compare that with the regiment or two which forms the garrison of an English colony, and the expense of which is grudgingly afforded by England, who, instead of shutting her ports to the exports of her colonies, finds the po[illegible] of her colonies partially closed to her own manufactures.

What shall be said of a colony in which the European population is composed of the same number of French inhabitants as of other European nations? The Spaniards alone number 90,000 and are settled in the province of Oran, which, as late as the year 1792, belonged to the crown of Spain, which they still regard as belonging to themselves, and which resembles so much their own climate. None of these strangers take the trouble of naturalising themselves as French citizens, because they have greater advantages as strangers: they are not liable to military service, or civil duties, such as those of jurymen, and can appeal to their Consul at discretion. On the other hand, though forming so large a proportion of the population, they have no municipal rights, but have the scant privilege of nominating one foreigner to represent them all in the Local Councils. The inconvenience if not danger, of such a state of affairs is admitted, and the Spaniards have lately been called upon to serve one year in the Algerian militia, though not liable to serve in the French army. The immigrants from the Balearic Islands and Italy are of great importance as supplying cheap labour, and thus, in practice, push out the French immigrant, who requires higher wages, and who would be glad to exclude such rivals from the colony, if he dared, as he has deprived them of the privilege of obtaining any concession of land. But if this state of affairs continues, we may see a not very distant date, when the colony will become hostile to France, especially as the fatal policy of deporting in former years political antagonists to Algeria, and encouraging old soldiers to settle there, has given birth to a community decidedly hostile to the mother country, and apt to criticise and turn to ridicule her administrative measures.

The population of 33,000 Jews is a remarkable element: they are all naturalised as French citizens; are in comfortable circumstances; have large families; and are on the increase. There are, in addition, some 7,000 alien Jews who, to avoid the burden of conscription, have entered themselves as subjects of Morocco or Tunisia. They were all naturalised *en masse* by a decree from Paris, in 1870, and were, in fact, unworthy of an honor which they had not even solicited. They have by no means amalgamated with the Europeans, being African by birth, culture and prejudices: they devote themselves to small city commerce, to the entire exclusion of all European rivals. They appear to be very unpopular, and so far in arrear of modern French ideas, that, on their return from their year's service in the army in France, they adopt the turban and loose pantaloons, and the other customs of their country. It is self-evident that, in a struggle of the colony with the mother country, this section of the community would be with the colonists, and probably that section of the colonists which would be the least friendly to the French. It is quite possible that, in the hour of peril, they would take part with the Mahometans against the Christians, whom they detest.

A more important subject is the indigenous Mahometan population, which is estimated, upon credible data, at two and a half millions. To Englishmen who dwell in British India tranquilly, a mere handful among the millions of Hindus and Mahometans, it seems strange to hear a Frenchman discuss the grave danger of the number of Europeans being only one in seven to that of the natives. It appears that the indigenous population had in 1861 reached to two and three quarter millions, but has been reduced by epidemics and rebellions to the extent of a quarter of a million; but it is clearly again on the increase. To these must now be added the exasperated population of Tunisia to enable us to form a right conception of the political situation. The French writer whom we have followed, does not think that the position will be safe, even as regards Algeria, until the colonists amount to one million, an event which is still a long way off. He admits that there is not the least moral assimilation betwixt the two races going on; that the Arabs have not taken one step towards it; and he attributes this to the difference of religion, but this has not been found to be so absolutely a wall of separation elsewhere. No intermarriage takes place betwixt the two races: the number of Arabs, who have applied to be nationalised as French subjects, amounts to seventeen. They have only to ask for the honour, but they do not care for it. Nearly all the cereals of the province are the result of their labour, and they monopolise the breeding of cattle, as none but Arabs could dwell in the high plateau, so cold in the winter, and so hot in summer. They bring down their flocks and herds to find a market. They breed camels, and bring them down laden with wood; but their system both of pasturage and agriculture is defective, and uneconomic:—they are incapable, however, of any change. They are strictly conservative in their habits and methods. In spite of their unscientific agriculture, it is admitted that the crops in good seasons are marvellously abundant, and that silver pours into the hands of the cultivators, who buy up land, a portion of the concessions to colonists, to a considerable extent. On the other hand, in bad seasons, they fall into the net of the Jew usurer, and are reduced to penury. These are the well established features of that particular stage of civilisation, and it may be doubted whether deep ploughing would suit the soil,—[illegible] high agriculture, the cultivator. Beneath those who own the [illegible] are tenants without any proprietary rights, and the French [illegible]nists makes a large use of native labour, which is cheap, if [illegible] good. They serve as shepherds and day labourers, and, in some cases, take farm-holdings on lease from the Europeans.

The tribal possession of the land is no doubt a great difficulty. Under the native rule occupation of the same plot by father and son was respected, but this implied no right of alienation to a stranger. The pastoral tribes drive their herds to the region of the Sahara during the winter, and return in spring to the high plateau region, looking out for localities where there is abundant pasturage, but not necessarily returning to their former stations. This kind of property may be necessitated by the physical features of the country, but it is difficult to reconcile it to the hard and fast rule of individual property. In Kabylia, and in certain localities, individual property does exist, and can be guaranteed in the ordinary way. The point of view from which the colonists and their supporters regard this question is unfavorable to the tribal system, because they wish *to secure the surplus land, and the best land,* to themselves. In British India the only question would be, what is best for the people, and what system will enable them to discharge their duties to themselves and the State best? In Algeria, there is always the earth-greed, and the pressure from Home to provide land for the colonist. No doubt, historically, the right of the Arab is no better than that of the Frenchman: he came as an alien, and extinguished all that had survived of Roman or Vandal colonisation, and sat down upon the lands of the Berber. Centuries of occupation have supplied him with a good title, and mixed races, and similarity of religion have bridged over the difference betwixt the two peoples. The French colonist has before him the task of extinguishing the Arab, if he is strong enough to do it, and of assimilating with the Berber, if the proximity of Europe will allow of such a degradation. The circumstances of Kabylia are quite different: a densely populous and mountainous country, parcelled out into separate properties, leaves no room for colonists, except on confiscated land, where the grant is accompanied by the undying hate of the descendants of the old proprietor.

Attempts have been made to open schools and colleges, but with slight success as regards the natives. The institutions were, of course, of the French type, and the inevitable dualism took place betwixt the civil and military authorities. In the Medical College there were in 1877, 77 French students, 3 foreigners, and 4 Mahometans only. Three Colleges at Algiers, Constantine, and Tlemsin, give instruction in Arabic Grammar, Mahometan law, and (Heaven help the mark!) Mahometan religion. There are only 29 students in the three Colleges, training to supply the Native Bench and Bar. There are establishments for secondary instruction at Algiers and the chief towns for boys and girls; but it is not stated whether the students are natives or Europeans: most probably, they are the latter. As regards primary instruction, among the 51,000 students, only 2,000 are natives, showing that the impression made upon the two million and a half of Arabs and Berbers amounts to nothing. In fact, the French have yet to learn that the only way of reaching the masses is by ascertaining the number of indigenous schools already existing, strengthening and encouraging them, instructing their teachers, and making it worth their while to improve their mode of teaching, and bringing them on the side of, instead of driving them into antagonism to, progress. The Arabs and Berbers are not in the lowest state of civilisation; on the contrary, a limited power of reading and writing is very generally spread, and the Arabs, as a race, are susceptible of the highest intellectual development.

How much the French authorities have still to learn, is evidenced by the remarks made by M. Mercier regarding the absolute necessity of every public officer using the vernacular language of the people. One sage councillor of Oran proposed that the French language should be introduced by law, and the native vernaculars abolished. Our author remarks with justice, but characteristically of a Frenchman, that such a policy would be worthy of a Russian or a Prussian, but not of the genius of his nation: moreover, it would be an impossibility. Such notions have sometimes been suggested by theorists in British India, and the idea of English law administered by English lawyers in the English language, has been put forward as the perfection of justice. Nations have indeed changed their languages: we have notable instances of the Normans, who settled in Normandy, of the people of Egypt and Palestine, but such processes are slow, and the cause of the change is hard to find out, but no instance is known of a foreign conqueror compelling a subject-nation to adopt the language of the conqueror, not by the quiet attraction of superior culture, but by an order issued from head-quarters. The French have not the gift of acquiring foreign languages: it is amazing to find great scholars unable to speak any other language than their own, and there has been too great a tendency on the part of the French, when in power, to force their own language into official use, but we are glad to find, that, in Algeria, every public officer is compelled to speak Arabic, and those, who are more specially employed among the Berbers, are expected to speak one of the dialects of that language, while the French Government has taken measures to have grammars and dictionaries prepared in these languages. This principle cannot be too rigidly enforced in British India. It is no[illegible] sufficient to know one or two of the great vernaculars, but the officers in charge of the non-Arian races should be selected for their knowledge of the languages of those races: when we read of a rising of those rude tribes, it may generally be attributed to the fact that they were oppressed, and that no English officer knew their language sufficiently well to understand the nature of their grievance, and hold personal intercourse with them.

As may be expected, the press has taken root in the new colony, and played an important part in ventilating the grievances of the colonists. It does not, however, appear, that there is a single journal in the vernacular languages, and, therefore, the salutary influence of this wise and sympathising medium is totally wanting. The different public organs amount to thirty, and the opinion is expressed, that they have not risen to the level of the dignity of their great subject. Sometimes they are mere echoes of Parisian news: at other times they handle local politics and local contentions with a degree of acrimony, and a want of dignity, most unworthy of a great people. In the presence of the two millions of Mahommetans the Christian settlers present the sad spectacle of bitter quarrels about their private interests, and, if the facts can be gathered from the review of their past history, a constant hostility to the Home Government, which is not a matter of surprise, when it is remembered that troublesome politicians have from time to time been deported to Algeria. The consequences of this state of affairs is that the men most capable of public duties, abstain from all interference in municipal elections, and the colony suffers owing to the violent passions of interested intriguers, who pull the wires, but do not represent the real interests of the province.

But after all, the primary object and *raison d'être* of a Government in a civilised country are to protect the life and property of the people, and it is frightful to see, that, in the volume to which we have continually referred, a volume published at Paris in 1880, it is distinctly stated, that the measures taken by the Government of Algeria have entirely and notoriously failed; that neither the French colonist nor the native is protected from the brigand, and that the police are totally inadequate to their duties. We should not dare to state these things, if they were not vouched for by a Frenchman who has resided twenty-six years in the colony, and whose statements, arguments, and suggestions, carry with them conviction. The province is supplied with a court of appeal, courts of first instance, of assize, and Juges de Paix, very much after the model of the mother country. Here, however, the unfortunate complication of the military and civil authority introduce difficulties which really ought not to exist. The Staff is stated to be insufficient in number for the duties, and it is astonishing to read, that appointments are made to judicial vacancies without any previous test of qualification in the law, language, and customs of the people. The decision of civil suits betwixt natives is reserved to the Kázi, while suits in which a European, or a Jew, is concerned, are reserved to the regular tribunals, which also receive appeals from the decisions of the Kázi, who is also notary public and registrar of marriages. However venal and inefficient these Kázis may be, it must be recollected that they are a national institution, and it is wise and kind to make use of them, improve their position, and instruct them. A subject population will bear patiently an infinity of fiscal burdens, but if their religion, or customs, or personal rights are interfered with, they will resist to a man. It is wisest, and safest, to let them settle these matters in their own way, which is more rapid, and less expensive. A well-trained, well paid, and well-supervised body of Kázis may act as a buffer betwixt the people and their rulers.

The repression of crime, and the preservation of life and property, are much more serious matters. In the chief towns there is a collection of the scum of many nationalities,—Italians, Spanish, people of Morocco, and Tunisia, and fugitives from justice in Europe generally, and it is no matter of surprise that crimes against property and person are frequent, but they can be kept down by a tight hand. The problem of keeping down the brigands, who infest the open country, is a greater one: the spaces are enormous: the villages at a considerable distance: the population scant while at the same time rural wealth is accumulting. Such circumstances are favourable to the development of brigandage. When the Bureau Arabes existed in full force, they kept a tight hand upon the floating elements of the population, and, while guilty of occasional injustice, they kept order with a high hand, within their jurisdiction, which, of course, was restricted to the portion of the province under military control. But a migration of the population in course of time took place from the jurisdiction of the Caid, Bureau Arabe, and General Commanding, into the civil districts, and came under the more legal and complicated, but less energetic and rapid, control of the commonest civil authorities, and a kind of chaos ensued from the collision of these co-ordinate powers. Criminals could escape from one jurisdiction to another, and defy the law. Many remedies were suggested, and foremost among them the well-worn but intolerable policy of making a tribe responsible for the acts [illegible] each individual member. It is scarcely necessary to say, tha[illegible] under a system of law and justice, such a remedy is most imperfect, capricious, and insufficient: the value of the property stolen, or life lost, might be paid, or an innocent person caught up, and handed over to the authorities as the criminal: in both cases the innocent would be punished for the guilty, and the real offender escape. The natives are as great sufferers from the want of protection as the colonists, and have no more knowledge in their collective capacity of the offender than the colonists, and this policy of punishing the innocent for the guilty would only exasperate them, and render them hostile to the authorities, as their natural enemies, or compel them to become themselves brigands in self-defence.

The only real remedy is that which has prevailed in other countries *viz.*, a strongly organized police, of both arms, commanded by energetic officers, spread over the whole province, in constant communication with each other, and under one head, thus defying all collision of jurisdiction. Such a police should have no judicial powers whatever, and be independent of the judicial authorities, except so far as making over offenders for trial. Brigands, robbers, and cattle lifters would soon find the country too hot to hold them. A Frenchman, like members of other continental nations, naturally suggests, that a passport system should be introduced, and no native be allowed to move from his residence without a police permit—but the Englishman knows that, as regards England, English colonies, and British India, such a measure is unnecessary, and hurtful.

Let us briefly recapitulate the heads and main features of the Administrative system as it existed in 1880 :—

I.—A civil Governor-General (Albert Grevy) in whom is centralised every authority, and who is responsible only to the Chambers. He prepares his Annual Budget, which is voted by the Chambers, and disbursed by monthly appropriations made to him through the Minister of the Interior.

II.—A Corps d'Armée, commanded by the General, who is under the orders of the Governor-General.

III.—An executive council, to assist the Governor-General, with special duties fixed by law.

IV.—A financial council, purely of a consultative character, consisting of thirty-eight members, eighteen being delegates from the provincial councils, and the remainder high officials, civil and military, under the presidentship of the Governor-General. They meet for twenty days only, and, their duty being to examine and discuss the Budget, and apportion the taxes, they are authorized to run out every question of administration.

V.—Each of the three provinces of Algiers, Oran and Constantine has a civil department under a Prefect, and a military territory under the General Commanding the Division.

VI.—The Prefect, assisted by a council, superintends all the civil departments, and is represented in the sub-divisions by his sub-prefects, civil administrators, mayors and shaikhs.

VII.—The General supervises his sub-divisional commandants, Bureau Arabes, and native chiefs.

VIII.—The civil department includes all the land of the towns, and the colonial appropriations. The military territory is pushed back year by year and is chiefly in the high plateau, the frontiers, and the Sahara.

IX.—In each province there is an elective council of twenty-five Frenchmen, and six native assessors, chosen by the Prefect, who have a vote: their functions are very much the same as those of the councils general of departments in France.

The chief sources of revenue of the colony are as follows:—

I.—Octroi of the Sea upon all merchandize.

II.—Annual payments of the holders of concessions of land.

III.—Registration and stamp fees.

IV.—Taxes upon the natives:—these consist of

A.—The tithe on land; settled permanently in the province of Constantine; but open to annual revision in the two other provinces.

B.—Capitation tax on cattle.

C.—Capitation tax in Kabylia, and tax on palm trees in the oases of the desert.

Revenue officers make the collections in the civil department, and the Bureau Arabe, with the help of the chiefs, in the military territory.

The department is divided into arrondissements, under a sub-Prefect, very much as in France, but under him come mixed communes, and perfect communes. The former are composed of a certain number of fragments, or Douars, or settlements of a tribe in the civil territory, having each their juma or council. They are under the control of a civil administrator, assisted by a council formed of the presidents of the juma, and notable Europeans resident within the jurisdiction. The perfect communes are managed by a mayor, assisted by an elective council, comprising a proportion of natives elected by their countrymen. These communes often comprise a large number of native inhabitants. It is admitted that the mayors of such communes are good enough kind of people, but quite unfit for the really important duties forced upon them.

In the military territory the sub-divisions, analogous to [illegible] arrondissement in the civil department, are administered [illegible] generals of brigade: smaller sub-divisions are entrusted to fie[illegible] officers, or captains, or lieutenants. An attempt is made t[illegible] create native communes in the military territory, as soon as the people are fit for it. It is noteworthy that of the whole population of the province one million and a half are still under military authority, and to a little more than one million and a quarter is conceded the privilege of living under a form of civil government.

The current of French colonial opinion, as represented violently and with unreasonable passion in the public press, sets two ways:—One party go in for "assimilation with the mother country," abolition of the separate government, and the addition of the three departments of Algiers, Oran, and Constantine to the other departments of France. It must be confessed that this party forget the existence of the Arabs, the Mountain, the Sahara, the climate in the hot season, the language, and all the other physical features which render their policy ridiculous and their advice contemptible. The other party go in for "autonomy," and virtual independence of the mother country, which is to go to the expense of maintaining an army of fifty thousand men, and spend millions in harbours, railways, fortresses, &c., but to leave to the handful of French colonists the administration, because in their own opinions they understand the question, and the people of Paris, and the Chamber, and the leading statesmen of France do not. It is as if the Government of British India were made over to the Europeans of the presidency towns, and the gentlemen in charge of the tea, coffee, and cinchona plantations. What would the Arab and Berber population, what would the Hindu and Mahometan of India, say, if they were left, not to the great united wisdom and honor, and political experience, of the Parliament of the mother country, but to the contracted, and narrow views of a colonial council? Does not an echo of this danger reach our ears from Basuto-land in South Africa? The feature which strikes the reader most in the most moderate and sensible of the French writers is the entire absence of consideration for the natives. Algeria is talked about, and dealt with, as Australia, and New Zealand, and Canada, and not as British India, Ceylon, and South Africa, are talked about, and dealt with. There is a craving for home rule, but home rule of a most dangerous kind, where the governing classes are to be of an alien race, supported by bayonets, and the governed are to be unrepresented by their own delegates, and not to have the next best guarantee for protection of their interests, in the presence of an independent body of public servants, whose duty and pride, and *raison d' être*, consist in standing up for the people even against their own countrymen. In the departmental councils there are, as stated above, a certain number of native members, and, as was to be expected, they vote on the side of the Prefect, and therefore enable the Government officials to outvote the elected French members. This is looked upon as a great grievance, as the small body of colonists would like to have the power to control in their own interests the affairs of the native, involving peace and war, and the highest considerations of policy to subject races.

The late inroads of Arabs into the province of Oran, the massacre of the Spanish colonists, and the destruction of property, draw attention to another hole in the armour of the administration In the towns and villages, where there are no garrisons, there exist no arrangement to meet sudden attacks. Every colonist from the age of twenty-two to thirty forms a portion of the national reserve, and from thirty to forty he is included in the territorial reserve, and has his arms in his keeping, but there is no point of reunion of their companies, and when they are mobilised, they are marched off to a central station, leaving their farms, and villages entirely unprotected, without men, arms, or leaders. This is, indeed, a fruitful flaw in their arrangements, and the blot has this year been hit.

On reviewing the whole plan of administration with eyes sharpened by experience of the same problems elsewhere, it is easy to perceive the great difficulties, great errors, and great dangers, that underlie the position of the French in North Africa. The present Governor-General has introduced a series of reforms, which are under consideration of the councils, and will then have to come before the Chambers. In the meantime, the annexation of Tunisia has opened the floodgates to new troubles, and in the public press it appears as if the position of M. Grevy, and the office of civil Governor-General, were in jeopardy. The first fatal flaw is the inability of the French to conceive the idea of a civil government, as sufficiently strong to cope with mutiny, rebellion, invasion, and foreign wars, and yet the English have never entrusted the power of the civil Governor to the Commander of the forces, *as such*: occasionally the same man has held both offices, but he has had, as it were, a separate existence in the discharge of his two duties. The idea of entrusting a civil division to a Major-General, or a district to a field officer, or a sub-division of a district to a captain or a subaltern, has never entered into the possibilities of English administration. Military officers have been delegated to civil employ, but they have ceased for the time to be more than civilians, and the agents of a civil Governor.

The next difficulty is the attempt to manage a subject province, partly on the lines of a European colony, partly after the manner of a great subject dependency. The theory of the administration of British India is intelligible, and the theory of the constitution of the dominion of Canada is equally so; but if the two theories are blended, it is difficult to find the way out of the inconsistencies—and these are practical and not theoretic. It is true, that the constitutional colony of the Cape has this problem before it, but it has not solved the problem, and the Bushmen, Hottentot, and Bantu subject races are not like Arabs and Berbers, the heirs of an ancient civilisation, professors of a conquering religion, with traditions of independence, and wild autonomy dating back for many centuries, supported by the sympathies of co-religionists, and men of the same race in Europe, Asia and Africa, with all the monuments of their ancient civilisation and independence existing before their eyes in such towns as Tlemsir, Algiers and Constantine, without alluding to their pilgrimages to Mecca, and old allegiance to Constantinople. Nothing but brute force and military domination will keep such tribes in order, and how is an administration to be devised which will keep these haughty tribes in order with the sword, who by a process of attraction are drawn to certain centres, and live intermixed with French republicans, who expect to be treated with the same legal forms that are in vogue in France?

This leads on to the third and most ridiculous inconsistency of the system. British India is governed by a *legal* system of absolute rule. The idea of a municipal council in each province, elected by any portion of the population to assist in executive duties, would never enter the brain of the wildest theorist. The Englishman, who for his own profit settles in British India, accepts this legal system, and if the law be departed from, his remedy would be appeal to the public press, or to refer the matter to Parliament. Perhaps a benevolent absolute monarchy, jealously watched and controlled by a popular assembly, is the most perfect machinery for governing subject nations, who are unable to govern themselves, that human wit has devised. A direct constitutional Government lacks vigour, energy, and rapidity of execution. An absolute monarchy, such as Russia and Turkey, lacks honesty, conscience, and publicity. In Algeria it is a farce to talk of elective councils, when the real population are so inadequately represented: the million and a quarter under the civil departments have only eighteen delegates, *chosen by the State:* the million and a half under the military authority are totally unrepresented. It would be better for the Arabs and Berbers to be at the mercy of a benevolent, experienced, high-minded statesman, like M. Albert Grevy, or even of such honest soldiers, as Pelissier, Mac Mahon and Chanzy, who, to the best of their lights, would act in the interest of the people, than of the short-sighted, interested, and hostile classes of colonists represented by the elected members of the council, with whom earth-greed and cheap labour were the first objects.

M. de Tocqueville, in a report upon Algeria to the Corps Legislatif, twenty years ago, remarks, "that it would be prudent to prepare "officials for their duties, or to satisfy ourselves, that they have "prepared themselves, before we invest them with power in Alge-"ria: that such was the practice of the English in India: that "the officials whom we sent out to Africa, were, with few excep-"tions, ignorant of the languages and customs of the people; they "were ignorant of the principles of the administration which "they represented, and applied an exceptional code of laws, with the "rules of which they had not acquainted themselves." Matters have improved since then, at least, in intention, but it is complained even now, that functionaries are always changing, that there is no separate civil service for Algeria, and no official tradition: that men use appointments in Algeria as stepping-stones to something better in France, or are sent there as to a penal settlement for misconduct in France. It is sadly remarked in the volume before us, that many functionaries, civil and military, have lost their reputation by accepting miserable bribes, or by admitting to too great an intimacy Arabs who have compromised them, and made themselves centres of dishonest intrigues. A European placed in such a situation among a subject race should maintain a lofty independence of character, and an immaculate purity, a kindly but firm disposition, a readiness to listen, and such transparent honesty of purpose and justice, as will conciliate the esteem, respect and devotion of the people, among whom he is thrown. Have the neo-Latin races evidenced the existence of that power, have they realised the ancient maxim?

> "Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento
> "Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos."

A respect for the religion and customs of the people need not degenerate into an abandonment by an official of his own religion, or a degeneracy from the customs of his own people. A sincere and devout belief in his own religion should not, on the other hand, tempt an official to lend himself to propagandism, as it is not right even to do good to others by force, for propagandism soon degenerates into intolerance. The Archbishop of Algiers, if he had the chance, would soon make a forward move in the interest of his own form of worship. The Mahometans are quite as intolerant in their own way, and as confident in themselves being in the right, and all the rest of the world wrong, as the Roman Catholics. It is a fair fight between the two developments of error. It scarce lies in the mouth of the Frenchman to denounce the religious societies of the Mahometans, or Khouan, the Dervesh, and wandering marabouts, and so called fanatics, preaching from town to town, and village to village, sedition and conspiracy against a government hostile to their nation and religion, and obtaining assistance from their neighbours in independent states, and acting under the authority of a so-called vice-regent of God. Do not the Roman Catholics of France follow the same methods, strive to stir up the same passions, collect money for the purpose from neighbouring nations, and act under the authority of their so-called vice-regent of God? It is proposed to institute proceedings against these Mahometan emissaries, and attempt to destroy them? Will this be consistent with toleration? Will it be wise to make martyrs? Has the French republic taken anything by attacking the religious orders? If such classes are persecuted, they are apt to become dangerous. Moreover, when an alien nation undertakes to hold alien races in subjection, it is presumed to take into consideration the elements of opposition, religious, and political, which it will have to encounter.

No reasonable Englishman or German can grudge the Frenchman the privilege of subduing the North of Africa, from the Pillars of Hercules to the confines of Egypt, but there he must stop, as a new class of interests is affected by any interference with the basin of the Nile. If it pleased the republic of France to assume the Imperial title of Numidia, Mauretania, Getulia, the Sahara, Senegambia and Nigritia, and to develope the resources of the North-Western quarter of Africa, the world would be the gainer. It would lead to a vast expenditure of French money and French lives, and cripple the power of France in the case of a European war, but it would not turn the Mediterranean Sea into a French lake, and the trade that would develop itself across the Sahara, would scarcely be remunerative. The annexation of Tunisia will cost a decade of severe struggle: the annexation of Morocco will be still more difficult. The idea of an inland sea by letting in the ocean from the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, appears to be a vision: at least, the Great Sahara is at a considerable elevation above sea level. The real policy would be year by year to push forward posts, and by artesian wells make new oases, and get used to the wild Tawaregs, and teach them new wants, and show them new advantages. When Ismail Pasha was discussing the mode of conquering Nejd on the other side of the Arabian Desert, he placed a lamp in the centre of a carpet, and asked his councillors how they could reach to it. Some bent over, and tried in vain to reach it with their arms, but one crafty adviser began to roll up gradually the border of the carpet, until with the outstretched length of his body he could reach to it: The Pasha took the hint, and learnt year by year by advances of his frontier ports to encroach upon the Desert, till gradually what once was distant came within his grasp. The French must do the same: it may be the work of years, and in that time, perhaps, the tribal possessions of land, which they work with a high hand to modify, may give way to individual holdings, as, in the progress of the life of a nation, it has done elsewhere. On the other hand; so unchangeable is the Sahara and the Nomad character, that it is possible that both features may outlive another cycle of French monarchies, empires and republics, and see Paris taken a third time.

LONDON,
August 1881.

ROBERT CUST.

ART. IV.—AMRITSAR IN 1881.

THE town of Amritsar has frequently of late years been before the public of India and has earned an unenviable notoriety. In 1864-65, a visitation of small-pox carried off several thousands of its inhabitants. In 1869 cholera raged to such an extent, that in one month over 3,000 people died. Some three years after this the beef-eating portion of the population woke up one morning to find that during the night all the butchers had been murdered. For six months after that the city was in a continual ferment, and much attention was directed to the place from the fact that it is the head-quarters of orthodox Sikhs. The year under review, 1881, will stand out in the annals of the city as one of more utter desolation and death than any which have preceded it. Its story may be briefly told.

The summer was an ordinary one. The rains began rather early. Then, all of a sudden it rained most violently for three days, during which no less than 23 inches fell. In all, from April till October, about 65 inches were registered. Now the annual average rainfall of Amritsar is about 21 inches. When in 72 hours the annual average total rainfall was exceeded, we can imagine, what would take place. There was no provision for carrying off surplus water to such an extent, and of course it followed that the place was flooded. The consequence of this flooding was that the houses in the city began to give way. Many subsided and had cracked walls, and were so rendered unsafe. The mud-walled houses would, as a matter of course, collapse altogether.

When the rains stopped, fever set in. And to such an extent did it rage, that, in the 11 days ended on October 1st, no less than 2,265 people died of it. For a fortnight after this the deaths remained above 200 daily.

In the present paper an attempt will be made to account for this terrible visitation, and some remedies will be suggested. Amritsar has been the writer's home for eighteen years, and he has seen a good deal of the city, mostly on foot. He has noticed, too, the habits of the people, and he knows something of their homes.

The city was originally founded by the side of a natural fountain, or pool. Its name was Chak. In 1578 this pool was dug out, so as to make it into a tank. This was done by a faqir, a disciple of Nanak, and the fourth Sikh Gooroo. His name was Rám Dáss, and he called the village by the side of the tank, Rámdásspur. His son and successor in the Goorooship, Arjan, built the tank, *i.e.*, lined it with bricks, and in the middle of it erected a temple. This was about the time of the Spanish Armada, Arjun changed the name of the city into Amritsar—the fountain of immortality—a name the place ill deserves.

After many vicissitudes, and much violence from the Abdalli Ahmad Shah and from the Muhammadans generally, in the time of Ranjit Singh, the city rose into importance. The walls were extended so as to enclose not only the original tank of Rám Dáss, but also others, so that now the city is about a mile and a half in length by rather more than a mile in breadth; and the population is about 150,000.

Now let us consider a little The fact of the pool or fountain existing would seem to point to Amritsar as the centre of a depression. It is so. It is, it is true, situated midway between the rivers Ravee and Beas. But the plain between these two rivers is nearly level. There is an incline, not, however, towards either river, but towards the west, in the direction the rivers take. Any depression in this slope would therefore cause an accumulation of water. The large tanks, as Tarun Tarun, 14 miles from Amritsar, are kept filled for a similar reason. They are situated in a depression in the slope of the land towards the west. In Amritsar the tanks are considerably lower than any other portion of the city. Their depth is very considerable.

It will easily be seen that if water is constantly running into these tanks and never out of them, there must be a constant increment in the bottom of the tank of mud and sand. This would be comparatively harmless. But the tanks are always being used by all kinds of people. The Durbar tank is not used for washing clothes in: but some of the intramural tanks are, *e.g.*, the Santokhsar, the one near the Town Hall. The people here, too, wash their bodies with soap. Now, Amritsar is scarcely ever free from small-pox or typhoid fever. And, of course, remittent fever is always present. In these tanks clothes and bodies are washed after contact with these diseases. There is no hot water used. If the seeds of these visitations can be spread by water, here surely is an admirable chance given them. I have seen the tank covered in places with large patches of thick green scum which looked quite repulsive enough to give any one fever. These patches when blown by any wind into a corner of the tank create a stench that is sickening beyond endurance. If the surface of the tank be thus foul, what must the water be, and what the sediment underneath the water. There can be no doubt that the presence of these tanks in the midst of a dense population who use them indiscriminately, is a fruitful source of sickness and a mighty assistant in the spread of contagious diseases, or epidemics. Were the water running and used by cholera patients, that would spread the disease like wild fire. How much more so, then, when the water is stagnant. Filthy though the water of these tanks is, be it remembered that devotees drink it; and ordinary people who just go to bathe, wash their mouths with it. Of, course, all this is exceedingly disgusting. In searching for the origin of disease we come of necessity across much that is disgusting. We must not desist from our search, however, because of this.

We see no help for all this fruitful evil except rebuilding the tanks at such a level, that the water can all be drawn off constantly. So long as these receptacles of filth are allowed to seethe under an Indian sun, we never need be surprised to find sickness breaking out amongst the people who use them. Were there running streams made through the city, with small tanks here and there for people to bathe in, which tanks should be constantly supplied with fresh water, and as constantly have the foul water taken away, then there would be less chance of disease being born and bred in the city. For, at any rate, one factor in the spread of disease would be eliminated. So much for the tanks. Let us now look at another evil, still more gigantic and more appalling in its work as an agent in the increase of mortality. The city of Amritsar, like every other place in the Panjáb, arose from out its own ditch. It is built of bricks—small *Nának Shāhī* bricks they are called. These bricks were made out of the clay which was dug out of the city ditch. This same clay was also used, and is still used, for mortar in the majority of buildings. *Nearly all inside walls are built with clay and not with mortar.* And many walls—partition walls for example—and inner walls are made of unburnt bricks. Besides this, the roofs of the houses and the floors of the majority are made of mud. Many houses of the poor are made wholly of unbaked bricks joined with clay.

Hence, it will be seen that outside the city of Amritsar, surrounding it on all sides, was a ditch of tremendous width and considerable depth. This ditch has been partially filled up on the north and north-west of the city for about a mile. But in other directions, it enfolds the city in its foul embrace. This ditch, in olden times, was the recipient of the whole of the drainage of the city. During the cholera season of 1869 drains, main drains emptying themselves into this ditch, were found choked with human excrement. The evil had not been discovered till the midst of the cholera epidemic. The greater part of the drainage still finds its way into this ditch. After every shower its waters are supplied afresh with the washings of the city. What those washings are, we shall presently see.

It is a common practice for dhobis to use this ditch. People who wash shawls use it too. Besides this, every frequenter of the latrines outside the city makes use of the ditch to purify himself And yet people use this same ditch for cleansing eatables. They bring down to it radishes,—the large ones grown in the Panjáb, which are about 18 inches long and are eaten raw; turnips, carrots, melons, which, again, are eaten raw; cucumbers and kakris, onions, and, in fact, all roots and all fruits which may need washing or cleansing from the soil. Many of these are, as we have seen, eaten without being cooked, and they are taken fresh from the city ditch into the city.

Were the ditch running water, its banks would form a lovely promenade round the city and be a source of health and amusement to the citizens. But the stench which arises from it is the stench arising from the sewage of ages. It contains the concentrated essence of the filth of years, and is, therefore, at all times a fruitful source of disease. Were it not for the high wall surrounding the city, every wind that blows would convey the stench and disease into some portion of the place. As it is, travellers coming into the city, or going out of it, or going from gate to gate, derive a benefit from its presence.

With these two malevolent agencies at work, *the tanks* and *the city ditch*, we need not be surprised when we are told that one year's epidemic destroyed five or six thousand people.

We will look a little further. Amritsar contained at the beginning of the year at least, 150,000 inhabitants. These people live in a city whose length is, as we have said, about a mile and half, and breadth about a mile. Now, were the whole of the city inhabited evenly, and were the population spread over the whole space, they might live comfortably for Orientals on the site of the city. But a great part of the space is taken up with gardens and fields, and tanks and temples. Now the gardens and fields might prove a source of health. But, instead, they are the very hot-beds of disease. They are frequented by all the surrounding inhabitants for the relief of nature. They are frequently irrigated. Hence, the effluvia arising from them is the reverse of aromatic. One very large garden, which is in the midst of a dense population, was until lately a receptacle for drainage. Attention was drawn to it by the writer of this paper on several occasions. During the late rains this garden must have been converted into a lake of the vilest and most murderous kind. This, however, is a digression. The people are huddled together in the populated parts of the city so closely, that there is no room whatever for private latrines. Public latrines are provided, it is true, near to every city gate. But the sick and feeble, and women and children, must of necessity resort to the use of the roofs of the houses. Waterclosets are built, in fact, in corners of the roofs of respectable houses. But by thousands the roof is simply resorted to. This is not such a monstrous evil as it would seem, for the sun is to a great extent a deodorizer. But, nevertheless, the magnitude of this evil alone is something almost too terrible to contemplate. Still, we must not shrink from our enquiry. The drains leading from these places are in many cases open, running down the wall into the street. Generally, in the best houses, the drains are made of masonry, and go down into the open drain which is on each side, or in the middle, of the street. The roofs, we have said, are made of earth. Hence, when rain falls, they get soaked with the foulest matter. The walls, we have said, were often made of unbaked bricks, or joined with clay, instead of mortar. They are invariably plastered with this same earth. Hence, from the roof, the contamination spreads to the walls. They become soddened with death dealing matter. The floor becomes, too, a recipient of all the droppings from the roof, which are sure to fall in the event of the rain being heavy or long continued. Healthy sleep in such a cauldron of filth is impossible. To stay in such a place with the thermometer near a hundred is equally impossible. What must it be, then, when, the rains being over, the sun pours down upon the place, and the temperature of the rooms is raised to a hundred, or perhaps more? The roofs are then used for sleeping on. And we have seen what places they are. The open street is sought. There is no room for beds to stretch into the bazars. Shopkeepers, therefore, often stretch their beds over the open drains and sleep there. Wrapped up from head to foot, they seem like corpses made ready for burial. They do not know how very, very near they are to being what they so closely resemble. What the condition of an invalid must be under the horrible circumstances, we dare not imagine. We do not like to think of women being compelled to exist under such conditions. And yet thousands of mothers and tender daughters live with such surroundings, in nearly every city of India. Except in very rare cases there is no ground attached to a house in the city, where women could recreate themselves. Hence they are obliged to spend the livelong day in these fever holes, for, with roof, walls, and floor in the condition we have described, there is no other name we can give to them.

There are attempts at sanitation. The roofs are swept at stated times. Large boxes are placed in the streets, to which the sweepings are transferred. All this work must, from the nature of things, be done in the day. The boxes are themselves, of course, a dreadful nuisance. Were they in some place where there were not many passers by, it would not matter so much. But lack of space compels them to be put in narrow streets, which are thus made

[illegible] [illegible] Sanitation: even in the best city in Punjab was this state of ~~[illegible]~~ water supply — then what about villages narrower and more disagreeable and disgusting. Were these receptacles not on legs, and not elevated, so that their contents would be further removed from the nostrils of passers by, it would be better.

The contents of these boxes are removed *during the day* by means of strings of donkeys. These caravans of death wend their way through the crowds frequenting the bazaars, to the utter disgust of every lover of pure air. The amount of evil they must cause is simply incalculable.

The drains, which, as we have said, are all open, are on each side of the bazaars, just under the entrance to each shop. Persons making purchases, therefore, either stand or sit immediately over them. There is no fixed time for the sweeping of these drains. Of course, if disturbed at all, they ought to be swept when the fewest people are about. But, as a rule, the sweepers think that, when other people are at work, they ought to be, and so they generally perform their work during the busiest parts of the day.

Irrespective now of the city tanks and the city ditch, the non-sanitation, or rather the attempts at sanitation are quite sufficient to account for the birth and spread of disease. To suggest any thing here seems hopeless. The people are wedded to their ways. To interfere with them, seems an attempt to break their privacy. But, in fact it would not be so. The women must often expose themselves. We have seen them bathing in an open stream with men close by them. Therefore we have no cause to consider them as an item in the question. But surely some course is open to the municipality. Surely they can sit on house owners. The worst of it is that the municipal body is composed chiefly of householders, and they will not make laws affecting themselves. And for several years there has been no independent European member on the municipal committee. Hence things have gone on pretty much as the Native members wished them to go on. If householders will not provide water-closets, then, of course, roofs will continue to be used, and the boxes will continue. But surely something can be done to put down the carrying of the *night-soil* out of the city in the day time. Some rules are required on this point, stringent to a degree. There should be an inspector of nuisances, a man acquainted with his work, and conscientious in the performance of it. Amritsar has not been without its "*ring*" and its "*jobs.*" In this appointment, however, we may hope that the people will be overruled, and that some one will be appointed who will do the work well. The box nuisance should be abolished; there is absolutely no need for it; still less is there any need for these boxes being elevated. Again, the sweepers should be made amenable to discipline. Were the bazaars empty, they could get on with their work much better than when they are full; and, of course the frequenters of the bazaars will be only too glad to dispense with the presence of the sweepers, whose touch is to the majority pollution.

We have hitherto said only a few words about each of the evils of Amritsar, tanks, city ditch, and bad sanitation. We now proceed to another, the water-supply. Amritsar depends for its water-supply entirely on its wells. These wells are in all kinds of places. Many are in the middle of the streets. Many are in private houses. Many are in recesses from the street. Others are in places of public resort. Some are used exclusively by Hindus, some by Muhammadans, and some by Sikhs. For drinking water is a test of religion, and no one may tamper with the water of any Punjab religionist. Some wells outside the city have been so made that during the winter the cold fresh water of the Canal may be run into them. This is allowed to settle in the wells, and a little salt is added. Then the wells are closed up until the hot weather comes on. They are generally opened to the public in May, when the air is so hot and stifling. The water in them is then beautiful and cold compared with the water of other wells. The whole city flocks out to them. And water carriers are employed, all day taking large supplies to the city. To meet the religious difficulty, the well is divided into sections at the top by means of wooden partitions which run part way down the well. Each religionist draws out of the section apportioned to his religion. The buckets of the people may touch each other at the bottom. But so long as each man sees his bucket come up his own section, he is satisfied. We are, however, more concerned with the wells of the city than with those outside the city, although our remarks will apply also in some degree to the latter. The Hindus draw water by means of a brass lotah. The Sikhs by means of an iron bucket. The Muhammedans use a leathern bucket for this purpose. Each bucket with its rope is kept at home. When water is required, the bucket or lotah must be taken to the well. Now supposing small-pox or typhoid fever to be raging in a house, and suppose that patients have been handling these water vessels and the cords attached; whatever contagion there may be on them is conveyed to the well. This very use, then, of separate vessels whereby each man deems his religious sanctity insured, is one of the means of spreading disease, especially in cholera epidemics and in typhoid fever.

But this is not all. The wells are used for the purposes of ablution. Many wells are in such confined places, that there is barely room for a small circle of masonry round their mouths. In some cases this masonry slopes towards the well, in others it is so worn, that there are large holes in which foul water from the feet of those who draw water, or from the feet and bodies of those who bathe, collects. Some wells, however, have the outer masonry sloping outwards. In the first case, all foul water re-enters the well at once. In the second case, it is easily splashed into the well. And here is a fruitful source of disease undoubtedly. Nothing can be more poisonous than the filth thus conveyed to the drinking water of the people.

This, however, is not all. Most of the wells are built of layers of bricks simply, without mortar or mud at all. Outside many of the wells foul water is allowed to collect. This soaks down into the earth and re-enters the well through the crevices between the bricks. The upper soil is sandy and it easily permits all this.

Besides all this, we must remember that Amritsar has been inhabited now for 400 years or so. The accumulations of filth in olden times must have been very considerable. These have been washed into the soil. So that, when a Norton's tube was sunk near the city in 1869, after the cholera season, it was ascertained that about 200 grains per gallon of deleterious matter existed in the uncontaminated water underlying the city. During that year several wells were ordered to be closed, as their water was so thoroughly foul and deadly. At a distance from the city fair water is obtained, if the well be clean. The writer of this paper has had some experience in wells and well cleaning. In one case a well had been built about 36 years. It had been in constant use for the irrigation of a small farm. When cleaned, about ten years ago, it had in it no less than nine feet of mud and leaves and old shoes, &c., &c., at the bottom! When this was all cleaned out and the water allowed to settle, a foot of mud, which had been suspended in the water during the operation, settled again on the sandy floor of the well. This also was removed, and then the whole of the water of the well was drawn away, until clean water oozed out through the clean sand at the well's bottom. Ever since then the water from this well has been held in high esteem. The well had been level with the ground before, so that every wind that blew carried into it all the leaves and rags and rubbish lying near. After the cleaning, a wall about a yard high was built all round it. In another case a well built by Moharajah Sher Singh, about forty years ago, was subjected to similar treatment. Its waters had been undrinkable for a long time. The reason was plain. The masonry of the well was broken down, so that it was level with the ground, and in some cases below it. The well was much patronised by dhobis and native servants for the purposes of trade and ablution generally. They stood on the broken masonry and worked. The well was streaked from its mouth to the water level with the marks the dirty water had made trickling down from the well's mouth. This well was attacked. Vast quantities of mud were taken from the well. *The sand under this was black with filth. Through this the water had oozed.* This, too, was taken out. Then the water was taken out, and, after the whole had settled, the water was clean and sweet. It was then used with benefit by all the neighbourhood. As a precautionary measure, the upper masonry was raised about three feet, mortar being used, and the *top was made to slope outwards*, so that no water once taken out of the well could possibly return. Some time ago the wells of the city were cleaned of some of their filth. But it was allowed to lie outside the wells until it had drained itself dry. The job was done by contract, without English supervision. The whole task should be done by machinery Surely there are dredges in existence that could be used to clean a well without the aid of divers. The method of procedure now in vogue in Amritsar is this: A posse of divers come and arrange ropes round the well. A dish of iron not very deep is then sunk to the bottom of the well. A diver then descends and, after an invocation for protection and assistance from above, he dives down and fills the iron dish with what rubbish he can lay hold of, then, pulling himself to the surface by means of the rope attached to the iron dish, he gets hold of one of the ropes round the well. Meanwhile, those at the top pull up the iron dish and its foul contents. One man, after ten or twelve dives, gets fatigued and ascends: another then takes his place. Each man will, in the course of a day's work, go into the well four or five times. Now surely a dredger would do the work with less risk and in a cleaner fashion. Of course, after the divers have ceased work, the well has to be worked for several days incessantly, so that the foul water may all be taken out. Without proper precaution being taken after the well has been cleaned out, the operation will be of little use; the filth should be at once removed, the wall should be built with mortar at least a yard high above the ground, and the masonry at the mouth of the well should be made to slope outwards. Moreover, it should be ascertained that there is no hollow near the well where foul water can lodge.

Water in the city of Amritsar should cease to be used from all intramural wells and from all outside wells in the vicinity of the city ditch. These must be filled with all kinds of abomination. We understand that some scheme for a water-supply has been proposed for the city. With a large canal, the Baree Doab main canal, running only about three miles away, this would certainly not be difficult, except in the matter of expense. What is done should be done quickly.

Thus we have seen that there are four active agencies in Amritsar, contributing to the work of mortality. They are the city tanks, the city ditch, the city sanitation or non-sanitation, (what shall we call it?) and the city water-supply. They are quite sufficient to cause all the mortality we have been harrowed with for so many months. When disease once breaks out where no such thing as clear water or fresh air is obtainable, then, we may rest assured, the epidemic will proceed with ever-increasing power and energy. We shall not see the end of this epidemic easily. To end it, every inhabitant of the city must leave it. The tanks must then be deodorized and disinfected. After that they should be filled in. For purposes of bathing a branch canal, or several branch canals, should be taken through the city, and tanks, or bathing-places, should be built in the course of each stream. Every well in the city must be filled up, or thoroughly cleaned out. These are sweeping measures. Well, the epidemic is a sweeping measure. We have to choose between life and death. The people are ignorant of the most obvious sanitary rules. So long as their religious follies and prejudices are unassailed, they are happy. Dirt and death are their fate, and they seem equally reconciled to both.

CHARLES J. RODGERS.

ART. V.—SOME HINDU SONGS AND CATCHES FROM THE VILLAGES IN NORTHERN INDIA.

PART I.

HAPPILY in these days no apology is needed for introducing into the pages of a sober review such an apparently light and frivolous subject as the songs of the common people. It is more and more becoming recognised, that there is something more to be got from the ideas and notions of the vulgar, as expressed in their tales, songs, catches, sayings, proverbs, and what not, than the mere satisfaction of an idle curiosity or an antiquarian interest; that something more than passing amusement is to be obtained from them by the studious observer, if he seriously try to read between the lines, and that, too, without clouding his vision by attempting to discover in every thing a myth about the sun, or the moon, or the dawn, and all the rest of it. The congress of Orientalists recognises the importance of the study of folklore; societies are formed to gather its facts and to theorise on the results; an eminent firm of French publishers finds it worth while to publish a series of highly scientific volumes devoted entirely to it; grave men of science spend all their days in its study; and scientific periodicals freely open their pages to receive the results of their investigations. The intellect, the acumen, the research, formerly devoted to the study of the writings and monuments of the ancients, are now brought to bear on the sayings and ideas of the vulgar around us. There must be something in all this not accounted for by the satisfaction of theories about the sun and the moon; something that lies deeper; something more practical; something that makes serious men feel that the labour entailed—and it is very great—is worth their while.

There is no doubt that the guiding idea in the movement is that the study of the common folk, that unintelligent mass of every nation that must inevitably be guided by the intelligent few, the study of their notions, their habits, their customs, is the real way to get at their mental condition to understand the ideas that sway them and the prejudices that master them; in fact, to know them, and thus to get at the rudimentary facts—putting it perhaps rather strongly—on which all good government should be based. Here, then, is a noble motive, though the idea is no new one.

In the olden time the power that is in a word was seen and used merely to point a sarcasm, a joke, a story, or a homily, for temporary purposes only. Later, it began to be seen that something more was to be got out of it, that words had a traceable origin, and, being used to express the ideas of those who framed them, were indicators of their mental capacity; that the vocabulary of a nation, or tribe, as much in its deficiencies as in its fulness, pointed out what manner of people composed it. That voracious reader, Archbishop Trench, hammered away at this idea in many of his books. It is the leading principle of his 'Study of Words,' his 'Select Glossary,' his 'Bible Word-book.' "What riches," quotes he, "lie hidden in the vulgar tongue of our poorest and most ignorant! What flowers of paradise lie under our feet, with their beauties and their parts undistinguished and undiscerned from having been daily trodden on." And again he says, "Language is full of instruction, because it is the embodiment, the incarnation, if I may so speak, of the feelings and thoughts and experiences of a nation, yea, often of many nations, and of all which through long centuries they have attained to and won. . . . . . The mighty moral instincts which have been working in the popular mind, have found therein their unconscious voice." And if this is true—and true enough it is—of the words of the common folk, how much the more true is it of their lore,—their proverbs, their songs, their catches, their tales? These are the outcome of the common mind, the sure indicators of the state of the popular mental growth. The grosser the popular ignorance, and the narrower the scope of the popular vision, by so much the more abundant is the crop of popular prejudices, by so much the firmer is the belief in them, by so much the wilder are the guesses at the truths the folk-sayings profess to attest? "By its lore shalt thou know a people," might be made a maxim of the first importance to be instilled into the mind of every ruler; and it would hardly be denied that good government must be based on an intimate knowledge of the people governed.

Old Bacon, in his essay on travel, writes: "He that travaileth into a country before he hath some entrance into the language, goeth to school and not to travaile. That young men travaile under some tutor, or grave servant, I allow well, so that he be such a one that hath the language and hath been in the country before, whereby he may be able to tell them what things are worthy to be seen in the country where they go. . . . For else young men shall go hooded and look abroad little." And verily a foreign ruler who would rule without a knowledge of the people is one that "goeth hooded." In a country where the ruler is a native, a knowledge of his fellow countrymen is an essential to his good government. But it is also partly inherited. They whom he governs are his own flesh and blood. He is one with them and shares their inherited prejudices, their language, their ideas, their habits, manners and customs. But here in India we Europeans who govern, are aliens in every sense. We have by descent no one thing in common with the natives. Our inherited thoughts are different; our religion is different; our language is different. Even down to the minutest social ideas about daily life, about food, about marriage, about intercourse, we differ from them totally. Any knowledge we may obtain about them, must be acquired patiently and painfully. We can know nothing of them by inheritance, by intuition as it were. It is only by experience and study that the foremost of us can hope to attain that knowledge of them that leads to sympathy with them, to that right appreciation of their modes of thought that enables us to successfully lead them into the paths of life, which we, their rulers, rightly or wrongly consider fit to be followed.

How often is the complaint raised, that a well-meaning magistrate sees clearly what is wanted locally, but cannot induce the better class of natives, and through them the lower classes, to second him in his endeavours at improvement, finding himself thwarted unaccountably at every turn. A deeper enquiry, a clearer insight, would disclose some old-world prejudice, some inherited notion, utterly unreasonable it may be, but none the less powerful for that. An air-way is badly wanted in some overcrowded town: this can be advantageously obtained by the demolition of a few mud-huts; their value is hardly estimable; there is nothing to show that any sense of home attaches to them in the eyes of the occupants; nothing to render them of value as inherited property to the proprietors: a handsome compensation is offered, and even an authority to occupy a fresh and more desirable vacant site is granted. But no: they will have nothing to say to it; refuse positively to take the new land instead. It is more open, it is healthier, it is more spacious than that delivered up. All this is admitted, but on no account whatever will they remove there. The magistrate is at a loss: he is puzzled, and perhaps angered and resolves to bother himself no further. But the native, he has his reasons all the while. The new place is *sher dahân*, and nothing would induce him to build there. He goes with his friends, and the place is measured, carefully examined and pronounced *sher dahân*, and that is the end of the matter; building on such a site would be out of the question. The Municipal committee are pressed to ascertain the cause, and a member goes to see into the question. Anxious to please the magistrate, he rated the persons concerned soundly all round, and at last goes to examine the spot himself. The ground is anxiously measured, and, sure enough, it is *sher dahân*. 'Ah, brother,' says he, 'how could you possibly be expected to build on it?' And then ensues that dogged and silent opposition so well known to every one who deals with the natives of India in an administrative capacity. Now let us examine the question with the light thus thrown on it. *Sher dahân* is 'lion or tiger mouthed,' *i.e.*, in the popular idea, bigger in front than in rear. Every tiger is made so, say the common people. To build on ground that is so circumstanced, or, more strictly, to build a house of such a shape, is wilfully to do a very unlucky thing, as it entails the loss of one's wealth, or of one's family, or perhaps both of these untoward events; even as the house diminishes from front to back, so will your wealth or your family diminish from now to then. Who, then, would build such a house? It is all very silly, but the prejudice is very real, nevertheless, and would account for any amount of 'unaccountable opposition to a useful measure.' I have known a native give up part of a free building site in a cantonment,—and every one knows what a tooth to draw that is to a native,—rather than leave his ground *sher dahân*. Neither Musalmân nor Hindu will have it so.

Again, a woman is found dead in a well, and has apparently been there some days. An enquiry is made, and the police report comes up, that she was the wife of a native living in the neighbourhood, and had been missing for some days. Her friends supposed she had eloped, and she must have fallen into the well accidentally. The Magistrate is not satisfied, and sends a Deputy-Inspector of Police to enquire personally. He comes back with a report equally vague. Then the Magistrate sends his Inspector, but nothing more satisfactory results. The case is filed finally as an accidental death, but the Magistrate resolves to keep an eye on the police officers concerned. Now let us accompany the Police Sergeant when sent to investigate. He enquires and finds that the deceased was the wife of one Paras Râm, who lived in the neighbourhood: that she had been married ten years; that she lived on good terms with Paras Râm; that she was not subject to aches and pains of a severe kind; that she frequented the well in question. Eight days previously she had been missed, and, though nothing clear had been known, yet suspicion fell on Bhagtu, who lived round the corner and had gone away the same day, no one knew where, and though Paras Râm had searched for him, he had not found him. Lastly, a *churel* lived in the well. He enquires no further; that is enough for him; it is all clear as daylight now, so he goes and reports to his Deputy-Inspector what he has found out, and winds up with '*Churel le gayâ, bas; aur kyâ?*' 'The ghost took her away; that's all: what more could there be?' The Deputy-Inspector is quite satisfied, and so is his superior, the

Inspector; and, when sent to enquire personally, they do so in a perfunctory way. What further enquiry was there to make? Now the *churel* is, roughly, the ghost of any Hindu woman who dies in bed, or of any Mahommadan woman who dies in child-bed. The *churel* is very malignant, and lives in wells, where her delight is to drag down unfortunates, who come for water, to their destruction. This would be only one more case of it, and ever afterwards no native who knew of the danger, would go, by himself or herself, past that well at night.

Once more, your cow turns sulky and refuses to be milked. You remonstrate severely with your cowherd; perhaps you oblige him to make up the deficiencies in the milk produced. He talks this over with his friends, your other servants, who all agree that your action is another instance of the unaccountable eccentricity of Europeans. Since it is clear as the day that '*nazar âyâ hai*,' 'the evil eye has come.' Why then come down on the cowherd? This instance leads us to a point in which, in every-day practical life, the individual judgment is called into play, as it is a peculiarity of the untutored mind to be able to thoroughly believe in a superstition, and yet to take advantage of the belief for private ends.

However, the moral of it all is that a real knowledge of the people and their ways of thought is essential to one who would combat them successfully or turn them to useful purposes. Just as a missionary should first learn the religion of a people—which few apparently do—before he attempts to convert and win them from it, so a Magistrate should learn their ways before he can hope to guide and govern them, and at the same time cause that general contentment, which is the sign of good local Government. Any information, therefore, that creates or increases this knowledge, has a practical value that may not be apparent on the face of it. This was the principle recognised by the framers of the rules that guided the first Settlement Reports of India. While gathering information about local proprietary rights and settling the Government rents, they were also to gather all the information procurable about the people, their races, their tribes, their religions and their customs. Unfortunately in this respect the reports are always at their worst: admirably exact as they often are on other points, regarding this they are meagre and loose. A few isolated customs are vaguely reported, and a few scattered paragraphs notice an unusually prominent saint or shrine. There is a list of 'castes,' with a few incorrect remarks about them, and the information about the people comes to an end. It is to be hoped that the tabulation of the results of the late elaborate census will, on the point of castes at any rate, fill up the void still remaining. A step in the same direction was made when the Punjab Laws Act was passed, and the local tribunals there were directed to judge according to good conscience and the custom of the parties concerned. But this has only led so far to a crop of scattered judgments mainly turning on hereditary rights of sorts. Sir William Jones saw something of the importance of it, when, in founding the Asiatic Society of Bengal, he framed the sentence which now forms the motto of the society: 'The bounds of its investigation will be the geographical limits of Asia, and within these limits its enquiries will be extended to whatever is performed by man or produced by Nature.' The departmental examination of a young civilian includes a knowledge of the settlement of a district in which he has served. It is therefore apparent that the importance of his personal acquaintance with the people over whom he is placed, is recognised by the governing authorities, and the practical importance I would claim for the study of Indian folklore is, that it leads inevitably, perforce, against one's will, as it were, to a closer knowledge of the people; to a better appreciation of their thoughts; to a clearer understanding of the way in which they should be led.

The ground in India, however, has hardly been opened as yet. It might almost be said that the labour has hardly yet begun in earnest, though names are not wanting to show that there are workers already in the field. Mr. Percival, Mr. Glover, Dr. Caldwell in the south; Mr. Tawney, the late Mr. Damant, Mr. Grierson, Mr. Long, Mr. Dames, Dr. Leitner, Dr. Bellew, have collected tales and notes from widely different regions, from Assam to Afghanistan.

The Rev. Lal Behari Day, at the present writer's suggestion, has, off and on, published folktales from Bengal, in the *Bengal Magazine*, since 1876. These have reached a goodly number, and it is to be hoped that some day they will be presented in an annotated form, in a manner calculated to ensure a wider circulation. Among ladies, Mrs. Steel is still working in the Panjab, Miss Frere and Miss Stokes have given in their quota, and, were one to include times ancient as well as modern, the name of Mrs. Manning would stand most prominent of all. As regards customs, an immense store lies buried all over India in the Settlement Reports; those store-houses of local information that lie sealed to the public, and are available only in a concentrated form in Dr. Hunter's new *Gazetteer*. And lastly, we cannot omit from the category the name of the late Dr. Fallon, perhaps, in this connexion, the greatest of all. The vast accumulation of proverbs and sayings, illustrating popular notions and national manners, in that queer Dictionary of his, is almost marvellous. It is certainly astonishing to the close student of his book. As one who has frequently had occasion to test the fact, I may safely say that there is not a saying of the Northern Indian Aryan people at all in common use, that is not to be found in the book. It is to be regretted that, in his anxiety to present the native mind exactly as he found it, he has been led to admit remarks that cannot but disgust many of his students. But it should be borne in mind that it is hardly possible to present a true picture of the Indian nations, without introducing much that offends our more delicate habits of thought. He promised us a collection of 12,000 proverbs, culled from his Dictionary, and it is to be hoped that Miss Fallon, who is continuing the publication of his unfinished reversed Dictionary, will find a way to publish these also.

Great as the sum of our present achievements appears to be when they are all added up, they are but the merest beginnings when it is seen how much is to be done before the practical objects above indicated can be said to be even in a measure attained: before a district officer can turn to his books to ascertain the mental condition of those under his charge, even as he can now turn to them for information regarding their rights, their laws and their mode of gaining their daily bread. And yet this is the only goal worth striving for. It is now considered essential that the young civilian still under examination should know the settlement of his district, and the day may come when it will be considered equally essential, that he should know the folklore also. And who will say it is not of equal importance to him, if he would be a just and sympathetic leader? Not that I am an advocate for the extension of examinations, God forbid! I have suffered under the yoke of them too long and frequently for that. Perhaps, if the seniors who settle these things, had suffered a little more in their younger years, they would exhibit a larger pity for the buoyant youth they crush so steadily now. But, to return to our subject, it will be many a long year before such a consummation can be reached, and all that original investigators can hope to do now is to add each his mite, waiting patiently till some master-hand shall be in a position to gather all the scattered threads together and present them in an intelligible and useful shape to a more fortunate generation. It is in this spirit that I now present these few songs and catches from villages in the North-West Provinces, the Himalayas and the Panjab.

This is not the place for disquisitions on grammar and accuracy of renderings; so I will here confine myself to giving metrical renderings of the songs collected, in which I have endeavoured to give not only the form but the spirit of the originals. Those who may wish to test my renderings, will find the originals, with full notes, in the pages of the journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for the current year.

The songs were all collected in the Panjab and the hills of Kângra and Chambâ, but some of those found to be current in the Eastern Panjab are so obviously of Pûrbiâ origin from their language, that I have had no hesitation in classing them as from the North-West Provinces. They will be classified according to their import, and their origin will be sufficiently designated by simply stating at the foot whence they were obtained. They differ exceedingly in length, from songs of several verses to mere catches of a single rhyme, proverbs almost; and in poetical value from a high order of popular poetry to silly doggrel. They touch upon widely different subjects, but principally on religion, love, and home customs. Some of them are of a strictly local character. They are all exceedingly interesting as indications of the working of the popular mind on the three most important subjects that go to make up the practical daily life of every inhabitant of the civilised world.

To take first the songs about religion;—those actually relating to religious sentiment exhibit an under current of monotheism and fatalism in the popular Hindu religion of the day, having apparently little or no reference to the outward Brahmanical form of ritual, still so powerful and universal. This is, no doubt, due to the influence of the Bhagats, or free-thinking reformers of the Indian middle ages, among whom Kabîr in the north, Nâmdev in the west, and, we might almost add, Gurû Nânak in the Panjab, played so prominent a part. The points of the reformation seem to have been the abolition of caste and of puerile ritual, and the assertion of religious equality, while idolatry and pantheism were especially assailed. The result has been apparently to create a dual religion, as it were. The idolatry, the caste system, the outward pantheism, the ritual, have all remained, but with them there has lived on, as it were, a secret monotheism and a toleration of any form of religion merely as such. The North Indian Hindu peasant's religion seems to be outwardly Brahmanical, as shown in his religious customs and his ritual; inwardly monotheism, clouded by a thick haze of superstition and tempered by fatalism, as exhibited in his religious sayings, proverbs, catches, and songs. The form of affirmation we administer in our Courts, "*Main apne Parmeshar ko hâzir nâzir jânke, &c.,*" "I, knowing *my own God* to be present and all-seeing," does fairly represent the form a general oath should take. The Sanskrit components of *Parmeshar* are *parama*, supreme, and *is'wara*, ruler: so, in its essence, the word means the Supreme Ruler, which is its approximate sense now, and "God" is a good translation for it. I have given a frequent rendering "God" in these songs. In the originals the word is sometimes "*Râm,*" sometimes "*Parmeshar,*" sometimes "*Swâmi,*" sometimes "*Bhagwân,*" sometimes even "*Allah*"; but I am prepared to do battle, if need be, for the rendering "God" as the correct one for the contexts. The religious attitude of the ignorant Hindu peasant—to risk a comparison which may seem odious to some—is comparable with that of his equally ignorant Christian brother in Europe among the more ritualistic Christian churches. The Christian has his saints, who must be propitiated, his holy water, his pilgrimages, his thousand and one queer superstitious customs; but he has his "God" under it all, though often, perhaps, but very dimly understood; for which the Hindu substitutes his pantheon, his saints, his bathings, and his peculiar customs, while through them looms the dim image of his Supreme Ruler and his fatalism. I think, moreover, it can be abundantly proved by their folklore that the mass of the Mahommedans, especially of the lower classes, differ in religion from their Hindu compatriots only in their outward forms. The superstitions of both are practically the same, which involves the proposition that their mental, as distinguished from their formal, religious attitude is identical.

Here is a song from the Panjab which well illustrates all the peculiarities above alluded to:—

There came a Brahman to my door,
Bearing glad tidings of good news.
The Brahman took the Scriptures up,
The good news in them read.
And while I sat there hearing him,
Lo! all my cares had fled.

Alas! the achings men have borne
To satisfy the mind,
And in the end have heartsick died
With eyes from watching blind.

Disguised in holy Brahman's form
Was he who came to me:
Prone at his holy feet I fell
Heart-glad and joyously.

They call him Brahman that is wise,
And lives as Brahman should,
That worships Him who is alway
With those whose lives are good.

They call Him God, the ever good,
That is by nature so,
That counts as worship love alone,
And not the outward show.

Never a son's son had Muhammad,
But only a daughter's son.
Fate's law is just: it heeded not
Even this favored one.

Whate'er is written in your fate,
E'en now is at your side:
As milk is ready at the breasts
E're yet the babe has cried.

Muhammad has lived and 'Ali,
Beloved by Him that's blessed:
But in the end they, too, were dead
And buried like the rest.

Panjâb.

I note this song as from the Panjab, but the language abundantly proves it to be an importation from Hindustan proper. The word for God in it is 'Allah':

Allâ, Allâ, karat hain,
Jo zât uskî hai pâk!
Binâ prem rîjhe nahîn,
*Jo ghis-dâro sab nâk.**

Are the more remarkable words in it, rendered the more so by the song being given me by a Brahman, as a Brahman song. The opening verses are entirely Brahmanical—

Bahman bâche patrkâ:
The Brahman reads the Scriptures

could not be twisted into any thing Muhammadan. But the allusion to 'Allah' as God, and the closing verses are almost entirely Muhammadan, and it seems to me that the gist of the song supports the theories above propounded as to the mental religious attitude of the common folk.

The idea of a single God, so strongly indicated in the above song, is again to be seen in the following, from the Panjab. The first is in Panjâbi, pure and simple, and is a Sikh song.

Repeat alway the Name of God
To whom thou hast to go;
And do thy duty with thy might:
The fruit thou reapest so.

Panjab.

---

* *lit.* Though you rub away your whole nose. The allusion is to the Muhammadan method of praying by touching the ground with the face. The point is, without love, he is not pleased, however excessive the outward form may be!

The next two are in Hindi, and are Hindu songs—

Who will take away my pain, but Thou?
Who will take away my pain, but Thou?
I come a poor sinner to Thy gate,
Bringing nought but poverty with me.

Panjab.

Who hath found the secret of the Lord?
Though all his life be spent upon the search.
For the sake of the Lord, my friend,
The whole world hath been lost:
Saints and prophets for Him have searched
To count their lives the cost.

Panjab.

Another from Kangra is to the same effect—

The parrot in the mango tree,
The starling in the hedge below,
Pours forth his melody of song
His careless happiness to show.
So do ye to the mighty God
Your hymns of thankfulness upraise,
For the great night is passing long
And short the measure of your days!

Come, parrot, to my tempting cage;
I've rice and sweetest milk for thee:
Come, starling, too, and pipe thy song
For choicest butter-cakes from me.

Kangra.

In the original the above song is so condensed that I have been forced to paraphrase it freely, and as in so doing, one is very liable to misrepresent, I give the original also—

Ambe dâliyâ totâ bole; mainâ bole bârhiyân.
Bhajo Ramji: din thore, râtîn bariyân.
A, mere toto, bahî-jâ pinjren, motiyân chog chugâniyân.
Tote jo main dudh-bhât dinhân; mainâ jo* chûriyân*

These are capped by another catch from the Panjab.

He who made the parrot green,
And made the raven black,
His many hues the peacock gave,
The swan his snow-white back:
That gave to each his separate song,
Is the only God and true.
If you but work here honestly,
His reward will be to you.

Panjab.

In the original the words of the song are unequivocal.

Uh swâmi ik sait hai,
Ate kûrâ sabh sansâr.

---

* *Jo* in the Kangra dialect of Panjabi equals Hindi *ko*; *tote jo*, to the parrot.

He who made the parrot green, and so on, is the one true Lord, and the whole earth is false. Now the above is a *tuk*, which in the Panjab means a recognised religious catch, one that everybody knows well, as a matter of course. The way in which *tuks* are sung is this. A small crowd of villagers are listening to a musician droning through one of his interminable songs. The singer has had enough of it for the time and is out of breath. Some one perceives this and calls out '*Tuk bol*,' 'Sing us a *tuk*,' whereupon one of the company,—any one present can do it,—shouts a prolonged '*He ! ! !*' and starts off with a '*tuk*,' to give the singer time. The mere fact of the above being a *tuk* proves the universal recognition of the sentiment contained in it.

To turn to the second prominent feature of the popular Indian religious attitude, fatalism. It intrudes itself everywhere, and often in words that are merely mutations of the same sentence, the same idea presented in different settings. The proverbs, the sayings, the songs, are full of it. Fallon's pages teem with illustrations of it, all turning on the central idea, "*anhonî hoti nahîn, aur honî howanhâr*,' 'what is not to be is not, what is to be is being;" backed up by the oft-asserted and undeniable fact that, after all, the mightiest of our forefathers 'only had their day;' lived, fought, struggled and planned, and after it all, when their lives are summed up, there is little more to be said than that they lived, and they died like the rest.

Sometimes the idea of a single God is mixed up with that of an absolute Fate; witness two *tuks*—

He who repeats the one True Name,
Holds a fruitful charm and great:
Men make a thousand plans and die,
But fulfilment lies with Fate. *Panjab.*

If thou evadest Fate's decree,
It will not pass away from thee,
Tyrants there have been who fought it,
But they only had their day:
God kills the wicked but to save them,
And the saints He keeps alway,
If thou evadest Fate's decree
It will not pass away from thee. *Panjab.*

However, the prevailing note of the songs is a firm belief in the vanity of all things earthly, and in the absolute rigidity of fate. We find exhibited "a deep sense of man's weakness, inspiring a contented pessimism, born of perennial disappointment: childhood without impulse, youth without ambition, age without hope."

Alas! there is no confidence in this life:—
Alas! there is no confidence in this life:
It comes and it comes not: it comes and it comes not.
Alas this life! *Kangra.*

'You must go hence, you cannot stay :
This world is all untrue.
'What your lines show you will receive,'
Is Fate's decree to you.

Tuk : Panjab.

What is to be is even now :
What's not to be could never be :
Still parents plan the fond desires
Their children's children will not see.

Tuk : Panjab.

No account of what we may call the 'personal religion' of the Hindus would be complete without reference to the curious worship of the 'Name of God.' God (*Râm*), they say, is great, but the name of God (*Nâm. Râm Nâm*, or *Râm kâ Nâm*) is greater. There is abundant evidence of this in the songs. We have already had :—

'Repeat always the Name of God,
To whom thou hast to go.'

The original of which runs as follows :—

'*Tûn bhaj lai Râm dâ Nâm;*
Jithe tain jânâ hai.'

These words admit of no double translation and are plain and clear. In a song given later, a hermit or saint (*jogi*) reads a homily to a young girl who comes to see him, and in it the 'Name of God' occurs three times as *the* object of worship. Thus she is bidden : *Simro nit Bhagwân kâ Nâm*, 'Call always on the Name of God,' and again, '*Japâ karo Bhagwân kâ Nâm* 'Keep on repeating the Name of God.' She herself says once '*Kaho, to lûn Bhagwân kâ Nâm*,' 'Say, and I will take the Name of God.' One of the *tuks* I have given above, is translated thus :—

'He who repeats the One True Name
Holds a fruitful charm and Great.'

The original words are :—

'*Satt Nâm ik mantar hai,*
Jape soî phal pâe.'

Here we have '*Nâm*,' 'the Name,' by itself, with the epithet *satt*, true. It is *the* Name, the True Name, the Name of God, that is the charm that will reward him who repeats it. Lastly, a song, which belongs properly, however, to formal religion, treated of later on, shows clearly the relative position of *Nâm* and *Râm* in the popular estimation. In some parts of India, Kangra for instance, the first of *Chait* (March-April) in the place of the first of *Baisâkh* (April-May) is New Year's Day, when it is the custom for *dôms* (musicians) to go from house to house singing songs in its honour. It is very unlucky for any one to mention the day until the *Dôm* has mentioned it. It is also a custom to dedicate the *first* spring flower seen on a tree to *Nâm*, and the *second* to Râm. Both these customs are exhibited in the Dôm's New Year's song:—

The first of flowers for thee, O Name!
The second, Râm, for thee.
The first of Chait brings luck to him
That hears it first from me.
O Krishna of the turban gay
With jewels fair to see,
Do thou live on a thousand years
With thy posterity!*

Kangra.

The more important words in the original are—

Pahilâ phuljî tân Nâen kâ!
Dûjâ nâm Nârâyanâ.

which, translated literally, mean

The first flower thine, O Name!
The second name Nârâyan.

Observe the canonization, '*phuljî*,' of the first spring flower and the personification of The Name? I am not prepared to explain the origin of this cult, which, however, is nothing new. It may have its origin in the fact that Râm, with whom Nâm is now especially associated, was an incarnation of Vishnu, to repeat whose thousand names (*Sahasra-nâma*) was an act of virtue from all time. That Vishnu himself was long ago connected with 'The Name' is shown by his Sanskrit epithets of *Nâmi* and *Nâma-nâmika.*

Hitherto we have been dwelling on indications of the mental religion of the Northern Indians, but ritual or formal religion necessarily occupies such a large portion of the popular attention everywhere, that it has in all parts of the world—as it could not fail to do—given rise to some of the grandest efforts of popular poetry. Such a one is to be found in that very unlikely place, Dr. Fallon's Dictionary.† It is so fine, that I cannot help rescuing it from the corner of one of his pages and presenting it to the public in a more readable form. Every one knows that the pilgrim women dip nine times in the Ganges, as a 'good work' towards salvation. When doing so, the Púrbiâ rustics sing the following:—

GANGA KÈ NAU JHAKOLE.

Râdhâ ‡ piyârî he!
Lenâ jhakolê thande nîr ke!

---

* An explanation of the mixture of the legends of Râma and Krishna will be found later on.

† Article جھکولا *jhakolâ.*

‡ The worship of Râdhâ is connected properly with that of Krishna, whose mistress she was. Here she is mixed up with Râma. An instance of this mixed worship of Râma and Krishna has already occurred in these songs, and an explanation of it will be found under a late song, where it again occurs.

Râm! Jamnâ use, Gangâ pare,
Aur bîch bahe daryâo.
Râdhâ piyârî he!

Pahlâ jhakolâ mere Râm kâ,
Jin yeh sarishi upâî.
Râdhâ piyârî he!

Dûjâ jhakolâ mere bâp kâ,
Jin mândhâ chharâyâ.
Râdhâ piyârî he!

Tîjâ jhakolâ merî mâ kâ,
Jin bojh-marî das mâs.
Râdhâ piyârî he!

Chauthâ jhakolâ mere bîr kâ,
Ham upje ek odâr.
Râdhâ piyârî he!

Pânchwân jhakolâ mere bahan kâ,
Jin god khilâî.
Râdhâ piyârî he!

Chhatâ jhakolâ mere sasur kâ,
Jin biyâhe do dal jor.
Râdhâ piyârî he!

Sâtwân jhakolâ mere sâs kâ,
Jin saunp diyâ ghar bâr.
Râdhâ piyârî he!

Athwan jhakolâ mere jeth kâ,
Jin bânt liyâ ghar bâr.
Râdhâ piyârî he!

Nawân jhakolâ mere purakh kâ,
Jin lâe the sir dhar mor.
Râdhâ piyârî he!

While being an earnest admirer of the immense research exhibited in the Dictionary, no one can more deeply deplore than the present writer the execrable and inaccurate doggrel in which Dr. Fallon has chosen to translate his quotations and the frequently infelicitous choice of his illustrations themselves, but in this instance he has risen to the occasion and given a translation as admirable as the song itself—

THE NINE DIPS IN THE GANGES.

Râdhâ beloved, I pray,
Blessed be my dip this day.

The Jamnâ hither lies, O Râm,
Beyond does Ganges flow,
Between them glide the waters calm—
To dip in them I go.
Râdhâ, beloved, I pray!

To Râma first, our women's pride,
Who made me and can save,
I plunge my head beneath the tide
A blessing while I crave.
Râdhâ beloved, I pray!

My second dip's my father's claim,
Who gave me house and store;
The third is in my mother's name,
Who ten months travailed sore.
Râdhâ beloved, I pray!

My next my darling brother hath,
Whom with me one womb bare;
Then darling elder sister that
Nursed me with tender care.
Râdhâ beloved, I pray!

Sixthly, my husband's sire, for thee,
Who both clans gathered near,
Our houses joined by taking me,
I dip in water clear.
Râdhâ beloved, I pray!

Next is my husband's mother's due,
For me the house resigned;
The eighth his elder brother's who
Half his to us assigned.
Râdhâ beloved, I pray!

Last, though not least, for thee, my pride,
To whom my joys I owe,
I plunge my head beneath the tide,
My grateful love to show.
Râdhâ beloved, I pray!

Unfortunately none of the songs I have succeeded in collecting rise to any thing like so high a level as this, and, as they relate to customs of a diverse character, they can only be presented in a somewhat disconnected form. Here is a common-place little catch, sung by pilgrims to the sacred streams:—

To-day must I bathe in the Ganges;
To-day must I bathe in the Jamnâ:
Bathe in the Ganges;
Bathe in the Jamnâ;
To-day must I bathe in the Sarju. *Panjab.*

There is a song, or rather hymn, sung on the occasion of a birth in a family, that is worthy of record and is fine in its way. It came to me from Kangra; but, excepting two dialectic words in it, the language is Hindi, and it is more than probably an importation from Oudh. The custom is, whenever a birth occurs in a house for *dôms* and musicians, such as *hijras*, * and other harpies, who scent a fee on these occasions, to collect there and sing congratulatory songs. It is wonderful how these people scent out a birth, so much so, that I have thought of employing them as registration agents. About the commonest and best known song, which is also rather inappropriately sung at weddings, is that here given. It is spirited and curious, and bears a resemblance in more ways than one to our own Christmas hymns. It describes the birth of Râma Chandra, the great hero and incarnation of god (Vishnu), *the* god, in fact, of many parts of India, and god *par excellence* in the Sikh theology.* His earthly father was the celebrated King Dasaratha, now known popularly as Jasrat Rai, and his mother was Kausalyâ. The song describes the birth as according to the usual modern customs. The child, Râm Chandar is born; Jasrat Rai, and Kausalyâ are delighted; the nurse takes and washes him; the barber comes (as is proper) to plant fresh *dûb* grass for luck, while his wife summons the neighbours. The child's old grand-aunt brings him his first clothes, as is also proper and right, since it brings luck; his aunt is the first to hold him in her arms, and, last, but not least, his father distributes presents to the poor, while the family priest comes prowling round for his dues. The name of the aunt, however, is Subhâdrâ. Now Subhâdrâ was never the aunt of Râma Chandra, but the sister of Krishna, the great god of so many of the Hindus, and also an incarnation of Vishnu. Here, then, we have another instance of what is so common and puzzling in modern Hindu folklore, the mixture of classical legends. I have previously given two songs, which also mix up the stories of Râma and Krishna. The confusion may have arisen thus: both are 'God' and both favorite subjects of song; and besides there were three Râms, all supposed to be incarnations of God. They lived evidently in different ages, and probably in the following order. Parasu Râma, axe Râm, root-and-branch Râm, the champion of the priests (Brahmans) against the warriors (Kshatriyas); Râma Chandra, gentle Râm; and Bala Râma, strong Râm, brother and companion of Krishna. Bala Râma and Râma Chandra have probably been mixed up in popular songs, and there is nothing unlikely in this. It is a simple mess compared with some the bards have got into. The song runs thus:—

---

* Eunuchs, who go about the Panjab and North-West Provinces dressed up as women, generally not less than three together, with a drum, and earn a living by attending weddings, births, &c. Their fee is usually a rupee. They appear to be dying out; at least, all I have seen are old people.

O let us sing the father's joy in songs of triumph gay;
A son is born to Jasrat Rai, a son is born to-day.
Right gladly now comes forth the nurse to bathe his father's pride,
And smiling sleeps Kausalyâ now, Râm Chandar by her side.

O let us sing the father's joy in songs of triumph gay;
A son is born to Jasrat Rai, a son is born to-day.
Right ladly doth the barber gay, plant fresh grass in the ground,
And smiling goes the barber's wife to call the neighbours round.

---

* *Vide* Adi Granth. Trumpp's translation *passim*.

O let us sing the father's joy in songs of triumph gay ;
A son is born to Jasrat Rai, a son is born to-day.
Right gladly doth the grand-aunt bring a coat and head-dress meet,
And smiling doth Subhâdrâ take and kiss her nephew sweet.

O let us sing the father's joy in songs of triumph gay ;
A son is born to Jasrat Rai, a son is born to-day.
Right gladly doth king Jasrat Rai gives gifts to them that need,
And smiling now the house-priest comes to take his custom'd meed.
A son is born to Jasrat Rai, a son is born to-day ;
O let us sing the father's joy in songs of triumph gay.

Kangra.

A short little semi-religious catch from Kangra illustrates incidentally the hill men's notions of conjugal obedience. A girl goes to a temple to pray, but the god says he will not listen till she has learnt to obey her husband. She goes away and presently returns and sings—

Hark ! I have learnt obedience to my lord,
Forgive me now my sins for my reward.

Kangra.

One of the prettiest and most widely-spread customs in North India is the swinging in *Sâwan* (July-August), when the rains are usually at their height, in honor of Krishna and Râdhâ. It is done for luck apparently, much as our Christmas pies are eaten, and seems to have no ulterior object. Every one who wishes to be lucky during the coming year must swing at least once during *Sâwan.* Like most customs of this sort, it is confined almost entirely to women and children, whose swings may be seen hanging from the branches of trees in every garden and along the road sides, by villages, bazaars, and dwellings. Connected with this is the Doll Fair *(Gurion kâ mêlâ)* carried on during the whole month of *Sâwan*, and with the same object of procuring good luck in the future. Customs differ in various parts as to the manner of conducting the fair, but in Kangra every man, woman and child goes at least once to the river side during the month wearing a doll at the breast. The visit to the river side must be on a Sunday, Tuesday, or Thursday, and must have been previously fixed on by a kind of private promise or vow. Arrived at the river the doll is thrown in, and the superstition is, that, as the doll is cooled by the water, so the mind will be cooled (eased) by the action during the coming year. There is a song sung on these occasions by the children, having allusion to the advent of the wagtails as a sign of the time for the Doll Fair having arrived. It is also sung in the *Sâwan* swings :—

Fly, fly the wagtails so :
Mother, 'tis the rainy month ;
Mother, 'tis the rainy month,
Yes, my darling, mother O.

Fly, fly the wagtails so;
Mother, we must go and swing;
Mother, we must go and swing,
Yes, my darling, mother O.

Kangra.

Of course, so prominent a custom could not escape Dr. Fallon, and he has two allusions to it: one of them* he translates *more suo* in a way that makes one shudder.

"August is come and *tîj* is come,
The swing just put up now, Ma!
Gay cords of colors five now dye
And twist for us dear Ma!"

The other song he notices is really pretty for a rustic one, and to it he appends, as usual, one of his halting renderings. I give it in the vernacular, and have been tempted to translate it in my own way into verse. For who is not tempted to improve on Dr. Fallon who reads him? Those who wish to read the original rendering will find it in the Dictionary under *jhulna* (جھولنا).

Piyâ hote, tan main kham garâtî;
Saiyân hote, tan dorî mangâtî;
Shauk rang ab mujhe chûndrî kaun rangâ de?
Kaho! jhûlâ jhûlûn main kis rang?
Kaho! pag jorûn main kis sang?
Merî birhâ jalâî umang, mere piyâ ko kaun bulâ de?

O had my love been here, a swing-frame had been mine;
Were but my husband near, swing ropes he would entwine;
But who is with me now, a bright gay dress to dye?
With whom, foot pressed to foot, could I in concert swing?
O say, how could I now enjoy the pleasuring?
They kill my joys to-day who bring not my love nigh.

One little song illustrates the frequent Indian spectacle of a wife going to the village temple to pray for a son, but the most important point to be noticed in it is the way in which the 'God' is spoken of. Here he is evidently the idol, the concrete, personal God,—the saint as he would be termed in the Greek and Roman Catholic churches—a being very different from the shadowy Almighty Ruler of the songs first quoted.

Mahâdev is angry, dear,
And wants a little kid:
When you've soothed his anger down,
He'll do as you may bid.
If you want a little son,
Soothe him now, my beauteous one!

Chamba.

The capacity of the superstitious mind to take worldly advantage of its own superstitions, while believing in them, has been before alluded to. It is not confined to India, and it would be hard to say that the Italian brigand, who is notoriously superstitious, does not believe in priestly absolution, because he would be quite alive to the advantages of getting it cheap. This state of things, of course, leads to all kinds of satire, and the ironical ballad, which tells of a highway murderer—brigand they say in Europe, dacoit and thug we call him here—in Italy settling the price of absolution with a priest as a matter of business.

---

* Article پینگ *Pîng.*

Let's see! five crimes at half-a-crown
Exactly twelve and six.

has probably more truth in it than one would suppose at the first blush, though it would be no proof against the firm belief of both parties in the efficacy of the absolution granted. This peculiar condition of the mind is thoroughly understood by the common folk in India, though its recognition has not apparently affected the belief in the superstitions involved, except among the educated and more thoughtful of the men (for the entire mass of the women of whatever class may be, fairly classed as among the ignorant.) An average native will still allow his wife to visit the neighbouring shrine, ostensibly for worship, though all his songs and sayings abundantly teach him that there is no more fruitful source of intrigue and domestic mischief. As to the women, poor things, many of them are only too glad of the outing, and while, no doubt, they religiously perform their worship, or vow, or whatever it is, they amuse themselves *en route*, and, if there is an intrigue, then is the opportunity.

Bedecked she goes to worship Mahâdev;
Bedecked she goes to worship Mahâdev:
Her cakes of oil she offers Mahâdev;
Her cakes of oil she offers Mahâdev:
Her butter-cakes she offers to her love.

Kangra.

This was given me as from Kangra, but it is in pure Hindi, and so must be an importation. I have reason to believe it to be generally known. The point is that the girl has two kinds of cakes for the god: '*tel-kî kachaurî*', oil cakes, nasty and particularly indigestible things, and *ghî kî kachaurî*,' butter-cakes, pleasant and wholesome food. However, in the end the god gets the oil and her lover the butter-cakes, and it is to see him, not the god, that she goes '*chama chama*,' 'tinkle tinkle,' as the song says: '*chama*' is the noise caused by the anklet bells in a native girl's holiday dress.

Another song illustrates the same idea, though describing a separate custom. Known all over the Panjab, among the lower classes especially, there is a very celebrated saint called Guggâ

This Guggâ was a Râjpût hero who stemmed the invasions of Mahmûd of Ghazni and died, like a true Râjpût, in defence of his country, but by the strange irony of fate he is now a Saint, worshipped by all the lower castes, and is as much Musalman as Hindu. About Kangra there are many small shrines in his honor, and the custom is, on the fulfilment of any vow made to him, for the maker thereof to collect as many people as he or she can afford, for a small pilgrimage to the shrine, where the party is entertained for some days. Such women as are in search of a holiday frequently make use of this custom to get one: witness the following—

Come, let us make a little pilgrimage to Guggâ:
Come, let us make a little pilgrimage to Guggâ.
Sitting by the roadside and meeting half the nation,
Let us sooth our hearts with a little conversation,
Come, let us make a little pilgrimage to Guggâ.

Kangra.

Somewhat to the same purport is an amusing, though in the original somewhat coarsely worked out song from the Panjab, but again in Hindi, pure and simple. A girl goes to a hermit *(jogi)*, evidently for amusement only, but in the end she has to sit down and listen to a regular sermon from the old man. The 'theology' of the sermon, it will be perceived, supports the idea of the Hindu mental conception of a single God, this time in the original called *Bhagwân*, the Blessed.

Maiden.—Body and soul intent on things above,
Pray how can such as you know ought of love?
Hermit.—Out skittish beauty! Such as you, my dear,
Disgrace the hermit you may chance to near.
Maiden.—To pay a visit to your Holiness
Is all I wanted, neither more nor less.
Hermit.—In beauteous garb you come with accents sweet:
Are these then offerings for a hermit meet?
Maiden.—Why not believe? I came for nothing more
Than to learn something of your sacred lore.
Hermit.—Then, sit you here and take a little rest,
And call always upon the Name that's blest
Maiden.—Bah! He's like all men in this world so blind:
Just when one wants, they never will be kind.
Hermit.—Each of us wants what in his way may fall,
And no one seeks the common good of all.
Have patience, and be all your life the same,
Calling always on the Blessed Name:
For in the end to Him you surely go,
And none will save you in this world of woe.
Forget Him not and keep Him in your mind;
For this was reason given to our kind.
All here are strangers, no one is a friend:
This world's a dream that soon is at an end.
Let duty be you comrade at the day
When the end comes and Death calls you away.

Panjab.

I give the words of the homily in the vernacular, so that the reader may judge for himself of the value of the translation.

Jogî.—Jo dekhe sab hain matlab ke :
Koî nahîn kâm âve sab ke.
Dhîraj kar, tum karo yeh kâm,
Japâ-karo Bhagwân kâ Nâm.
Orak uske nikat hî jânâ.
Kisî ne nahîn is jag men bachânâ.
Mat bhûlo, tum kar-lo sudh,
Isî kê kâran milî hai budh.
Sab begâne, koî nahîn apnâ ;
Yeh jag sârâ rain kâ sapnâ.
Jo karnî kar-lo, hai sangî,
Dût jab â-pakregâ Frangî.

Dût Frangî, which literally means 'the English messenger,' used for the 'Messenger of Death' is a notable expression and is an indirect compliment to the overwhelming power of the English in India. It is not an isolated instance of the use of the word '*Frangî*' or '*Angrezî*' to mean the all-powerful, *e. g.*, *Angrez Bahâdur ki dohâî*,' 'I claim the protection of the all-powerful ;' 'I throw myself on the mercy of the English' is a common phrase. And again '*kaid Frangî*,' 'English imprisonment,' is used for imprisonment from which there is no escape, imprisonment that must be gone through.

The next subject that claims our attention is love, the unfailing source of song all the world over. The prevailing features of the 'educated' Indian love song are far-fetched conceits, vapid exaggerations and conventional similes, accompanied often with a prurient indecency that our most fleshly poet would shrink from attempting. I think there can hardly be a doubt as to the extremely low ebb of the prevalent exotic poetry of the *literati* of Northern India. It has scarcely a redeeming point, and, except indeed in so far as it rhymes aptly, runs smoothly, and is frequently ingenious and clever, it can hardly be called poetry at all. It is shocking to think that such empty nonsense can be read and enjoyed by the educated of a nation. Happily, however, it has not penetrated to the unlettered and ignorant, who in India, as elsewhere, prefer a vigorous idiomatic rhyme, however unpolished, which they can understand and which appeals to their hearts, touches on their every day life and feelings and makes sometimes honest fun and sometimes poetry out of the commonest objects around them. The lettered, who despise Nazir, because he wrote about mosquitoes, have fortunately no influence on the rustic poets of their country, who give us more genuine poetry in one of their straightforward manly catches than can be found in a page of one of the emasculated jingles, playing upon mere words, which their polite writers call poetry and which the educated profess to admire. I have not yet come across one 'moon-face' or one 'rose-body' in all the real village songs I have seen; nor, thank heaven, have I seen one instance of the 'saffron-hues,' or the 'incense-laden air,' or the 'bed of rose leaves,' or the 'honied conversation,' which seem to be considered necessary in polite 'description.' In rustic verse the maidens are not 'rose-bodied,' but pretty, the children are not 'pearls' or 'tulips' or 'suns' or 'moons,' but boys and girls, the people do not feast on the whole range 'of the 36 dishes,' but eat cakes and bread and drink water or wine, and the lovers talk uncompromising love not inane similes. However, it is not to be inferred that the village love-songs are free from all faults of exaggeration; they would not be native if they were, and we still find people fainting with love at first sight, and so on; though they do it in plain language. Many of the songs, too, are silly and insipid.

Two of the features of Indian exotic and home poetry make it difficult in these days to present it in an English dress. The first of these is the plainness of the vernacular still in use among the natives. A spade is called a spade with a directness which shocks us Europeans now, and allusions are made to things and facts as a matter of course, which we never speak of now-a-days, though our fathers did so not very long since without a blush. In the time of Chaucer it would have been easy to translate directly and accurately any thing we now find current in India. The task would not have been difficult in Shakespeare's day, nor later, in the days of Swift; even Fielding's readers would not have been shocked at Indian songs we should not care to read now, and if we did, we should be liable to misinterpret them. Dr. Fallon, in his anxiety to present the native mode of thought and the expression of it exactly as it is, has boldly rendered over and over again this plain language word for word, but I doubt if in the majority of cases he has succeeded in anything beyond disgusting his readers. The natural, and in many instances—as shown by the public criticism on his work—the lasting impression conveyed may be expressed in homely phrase, 'What dirty beasts these natives are!' A translator of native folklore who would avoid wounding susceptibilities which, however unreasonable, are real enough, cannot but omit much that would instruct, and cannot but run the risk of a mere partial representation of the real state of the case by softening down what he cannot avoid. Though expressions which are offensive to us will not be found in these songs, I do not wish it to be inferred even that they are not of frequent occurrence, much less that they do not exist in the originals.

The second feature that renders translation difficult is the complete difference in the relation of the sexes to each other as regards love and marriage in India from those in England. In India the marriage is invariably one of convenience, and natural love and regard has nothing to say to it. There is no such thing as love before marriage, that is, as regards the *shâdî* or *beâh*, the original and real marriage: the marriages subsequent to the original, such as the *châdar dâlnâ* or *karewâ*, are on an entirely different footing, and are cursed with the social ban. This state of things has had an immediate effect on the folk songs, and as a matter of fact nearly all of them refer to a love that is illegitimate; as indeed, spontaneous love between the sexes in India must be.

Some of the songs, however, are pure and pretty enough to be admitted into any collection. For instance, this from Kangra:—

But while the sun is burning so,
O ! Prince Mamolu mine,
O how can we our journey go,
Though all my love is thine?

Be thou the horse and I the cart,
O ! Prince Mamolu mine,
Going together when we part;
For all my love is thine.

Thy fond girl's beauty to proclaim,
O ! Prince Mamolu mine,
Be thou the glass and I the frame;
For all my love is thine.

So blooming by the garden walk,
O ! Prince Mamolu mine,
Be thou the flower, I the stalk;
For all my love is thine.

Mixed in the druggist's shop so nice,
O ! Prince Mamolu mine,
Be thou the essence, I the spice;
For all my love is thine.

Kangra.

The above may be called an adaptation rather than a translation as the similes hardly admitted of exact rendering. I have endeavoured, however, to retain the precise spirit of it. In the original, which I give here for those to compare with the metrical rendering who may care to do so, the antitheses are finely preserved by the near connexion between the things the girl compares herself to and those to which she compares her lover; while all the words for him are, by the arbitrary gender of the vernacular, masculine and for her are feminine.

Dhûp paî târ tikhnî,
Râe Mamoluwâ bo,
Kihân kari handanî bât?
Merâ man tan liyâ bo.

Tum ghorâ, ham pâlkî,
Râe Mamoluwâ bo,
Chalî rahnge iktiyo sâth:
Merâ man tan liyâ bo.

Tum sîsâ, ham ârsî,
Râe Mamoluwâ bo,
Banî rahndî goriyâ den hâth:
Merâ man tan liyâ bo.

Tum champâ, ham mâltî,
Râe Mamoluwâ bo,
Khare rahnge iktiyo bâgh (? sâth):
Merâ man tan liyâ bo.

Tum lòng, ham ilâyachî,
Râe Mamoluwâ bo,
Bikge Pausâriye den hât:
Merâ man tan liyâ bo.

Kangra.

Bright and pretty as is this song, another from the Kángrâ Hills shows as pure and pleasing a picture of a Hindu wife, who there appears as loving and dutiful as one could wish her to be—

O sweetly called the cuckoo up in the mango tree:
Sweet cuckoo of the gardens, hark, O cuckoo, unto me.
Many a year I've waited for husband coming to day:
Where are sweetest herbs for him? O kindly cuckoo, say.
Father I'll ask, and mother I'll ask, and then I'll go
To where in greenest gardens the sweetest herbs do grow.
Father and mother-in-law I'll ask, and then I'll go
To where the sweetest herbs in the greenest gardens grow.
'Too young, my dear, to gather,' the gardener will pretend,
But from the old grumbler I will coax them in the end.
And cakes and herbs I'll gather upon a platter neat,
Spreading them so daintily for my brave love to eat.
And then I'll make a soft bed and soothe him into sleep:
Then to-morrow's water bring, my house wife's name to keep.

Kangra.

Another again touchingly describes the simple devotion of a good woman who has taken the husband in real earnest 'for better for worse, for richer for poorer.'

All the world is sick to day;
My love would healing give;
But, doctor sage, he knows not how
To make the sick men live.
Oh! I am wounded sore!
'Tis in my heart, my friend,
That I am wounded sore.

When men do die shall doctors live?
If my love hence depart,
I, too, will go: I'd rather die
Than tear from him my heart.
Oh! I am wounded sore! &c.

If bread be dear, we shall not starve
  However poor we be :
From others' leavings I will make
  Cakes fit for him and me.
    Oh ! I am wounded sore ! &c.

Though poor we be and clothes be dear,
  We shall not naked go :
We'll clothe ourselves in coarsest rags
  And we'll be happy so.
    Oh ! I am wounded sore ! &c.

If men abuse and say hard things
  With faces stern and grim,
I'll silent sit, nor answer give :
  I'll bear it all for him.
    Oh ! I am wounded sore ! &c.

Kangra.

As in the course of these songs I shall not unfrequently have to give some with a chorus, I add here the first verse of this one to show how in the original the chorus or refrain is brought in.

Piyá merá baid, sârâ jag rogî ;
Na jâne sabaj, kihân jîye rogí ?
  Lag rahî chot ;
Sajan, mere man men
  Lag rahî chot.

Here are two more catches from Kangra as innocent and simple as one could wish.

As I was going for water on a day
  There came my love and met by the spring ;
And all my care and trouble fled away
  And like a flower my heart was blossoming.

Kangra.

Oh, the house I have built is large, my dear,
  And I have put doors all round, my dear,
But whether I come, or whether I go
  No love for my heart is found, my dear.

Kangra.

The next little song is more quaint than pretty. A girl at a fair wants a golden-fringed fan and promises anything to her lover to get it.

Oh, give me the golden-fringed fan !
Oh, give me the golden fringed fan !
And, indeed, I'll love no other man.
  I promise : so give me the fan.
Oh, give me the gold-tasselled fan !
Oh, give me the gold-tasselled fan !
And I will speak to no other man.
  I promise : so give me the fan.

Kangra.

Here is a case of love at first sight—

He gave me but one wicked look,
And with it all my heart he took.

Kangra.

One song is more vigorous than poetical in describing the unalterable resolves of a girl quarrelling with her lover.

You heartless wretch, I'll speak to you no more:
I'll stab myself and die.
You heartless wretch, I'll speak to you no more:
I'll stab myself and die.

Kangra.

Some of the love ditties seem to have no particular point in them beyond being something to sing—

What shall I do? or whither shall I go?
My love is nowhere to be found.
Searching in every place I cannot find
Him, who my heart in chains hath bound.

Kangra.

Oh, when I saw your sweet, sweet face
It made me mad I vow,
For when I heard your silvery laugh
My tears began to flow.

Kangra.

The illegitimacy of so much of the love in India has been above remarked. Songs in allusion to it are by no means wanting, and are usually untranslateable. One I have is simple almost to inanity.

Oh, with bewitchment my heart he won!
Oh, with bewitchment my heart he won!
Ah, with bewitchment my heart he won!
And all my friends and family are gone!
Oh with bewitchment my heart he won!
Oh with bewitchment my heart he won!

Kangra.

Another reminds one of the vigour shown in the grand old English song, 'Once I loved a maiden fair,' in which, when the maiden will have nothing to say to the bard and deceives him, he turns round on her with, 'Once I held thee dear as pearl, Now I do abhor thee.'

O! how could you your fond love give
To such a one as he?
A free-love known to all the world
And friend to nobody.

Kangra.

And here is another much in the same strain—

I made a mistake when I gave you my love,
And for my reward I have ruin's smart.
I made a mistake when I gave you my love,
For I was too true and gave you my heart,
And you in the end played a stranger's part.

I made a mistake when I gave you my love:
I made you a bed with soft flowers strewn,
And you took my love but too plainly shown.
I made a mistake when I gave you my love.

Kangra.

The song I have kept to the last touches on the same subject, and its cool effrontery is instructive and amusing. A country girl has been married off by her parents, but her old lover tells her that that need make no difference, and reminds her that by custom she must return for a while to her parents at six months, and again at a year after her marriage—

What is this that I hear?
They have married you, dear:
And what if they have, love?
Come to me, Rosy-cheeks!
Come and meet me and go,
For my love you must know:
When you come home again,
Come to me, Rosy-cheeks! *Kangra.*

R. C. TEMPLE.

ART VI.—ARE INDIAN MISSIONS A FAILURE?

VARIOUS unfavourable opinions are expressed in India concerning the thirty-five missions and nearly seven hundred missionaries at work among the two hundred and fifty million non-Christians throughout the Empire, from the unqualified belief, coming down from the old, conservative, East India Company, that they should be officially suppressed, as endangering her Majesty's Government in the East, and the statement of such papers as the *Hindoo Patriot*, the organ of "educated" Bengal, that "Christian missionary labours in India have practically come to a dead-lock, and our countrymen are not therefore particularly anxious about them," to the general commiseration and sceptical contempt and ridicule of certain leading newspapers under the editorship of English "Christians," re-echoed by the average Anglo-Indian and English-speaking Bábú up and down the land, whose chief moral nourishment is Buckle's "History of Civilization" and the works of Theodore Parker. It is the purpose of this paper, therefore, in order to furnish a plain, brief statement of facts, and correct such erroneous opinions; to notice, first, the direct progress of the Indian Native Church; (1), in numerical strength, and (2) in morals; secondly, the educational progress of missions in India, school statistics and influence, and the indirect influence of the missions of the land; and lastly, the assurance of their ultimate and complete success not only in this Indian Empire, but in the whole world.

Direct progress of the Native Church.—In numerical strength. First, as regards periodical statistics:—The statistics of the Native Church have been taken from time to time, showing marked success in the efforts of missions to Christianize the land. In 1861 there were in the Protestant Native Church, in the whole of India, 97 native ordained agents, 24,976 communicants, and 138,731 native Christians. In 1871 these had increased to 226; 52,816; and 224,258, respectively. In 1875 they had still further increased to 311; 68,689, and 266,391. The general statistics so far as taken in 1878, revealed 300,000 native Christians, and Bodley's Indian Missionary Directory for 1881 tells us, that there are to-day, throughout India, fully that number of natives who are adherents of the Protestant faith. The Roman Catholics claim above 1,000,000 souls as belonging to their communion, and the Syrian Church numbers some 600,000; so that, without exaggeration, the statement can be made, that to-day there are 2,000,000 native Christians in India. Next, as regards local statistics :—The increase of the Protestant Church in particular localities is interesting, as showing the success of missions in India. The success of missions among the aboriginal tribes of South India during the past three years has been truly remarkable. In the Nellore district the American Baptist Mission has the great responsibility of building up into a new Church 60,000 converts, who have almost all come over in the last three years. In Tinnevelly, in 1878, 19,000 natives joined the mission of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; and during the same time 11,000 were baptized by the Church Mission Society. In the Ongole mission field 1,000 candidates came forward in a single day, and in three months 1,000 had joined the mission and were baptised in the name of the Holy Trinity. In Tinnevelly and the Telugu country alone 60,000 souls became Christians in 1878. In the North-West Provinces, during the decade between 1861 and 1872, the Christian community nearly doubled. In Oudh the increase was 175 per cent.; in the Punjab, 64 per cent.; in Central India, 400 per cent. The Christians of the Methodist Episcopal Church Mission, during that decade, gained 500 per cent. In South India, where missions have had the greatest success, the increase had been comparatively rapid. During the time between the Ootacamund Missionary Conference held in 1857, and the Bangalore Conference in 1879, or in about two decades, the church had increased threefold, namely : increase of native ordained agents, 186 ; communicants, 41,000 ; baptisms, 93,000 ; and of unbaptized adherents about 95,000 ; showing a total of 200,000 baptized Christians and 127,500 unbaptized adherents, the whole amounting to about one per cent. of the population. The increase had also been steady. In 1857 there were 95,000 native Christians ; in 1861, 125,000 ; in 1871, 192,000 ; in 1878, 327,500 ; and in 1880, 330,000, which shows an increase, in four years, 1857-61, of 30,000 ; in ten years, 1861-71 of 70,000 ; and in ten years, 1871-81, of 138,000. Further, the increase has been general. As shown in the table below, giving the increase in four principal countries, during the twenty-one years, between the two South India Missionary Conferences :

Country.	1857	1878	Increase.
Tamil	75,000	172,000	97,000
Telegu	3,800	83,000	79,200
Malayalan	9,600	34,000	24,000
Canarese	3,200	5,500	2,300

Finally, to consider the rate of increase. There are two ways in which this rate can be viewed : first, compared with the Christian community itself, and secondly compared with the whole population. Compared with the Christian community, we find, that from 1850 to 1861 the rate of increase in the Protestant Church in India, was 53 per cent., and from 1861 to 1871 the rate was 61 per cent., while during the last decade, from 1871 to 1881, the rate has been 60 per cent., and there seems to be every prospect that this rate will increase more rapidly in the future. Comparing the rate with the whole population, we ascertain that in South India the native Christians of the Protestant Church amount to nearly one per cent. of the whole population, and, taking the entire Christian community of all India,—Protestants, Roman Catholics, and Syrians as one body,—they amount to nearly one per cent. of the entire population of the empire. It may increase the force of the above statistics to state, that nearly all the 341,000 native Christians belonging to the Protestant missions of India have been converted during the last seventy years, and that every year shows increased numbers of accessions.

2. In morals. The oft-repeated and most ignorant assertion of half sceptical and ill informed white Christians, that there *are no* Native Christians in India, I believe to have an abundant and sufficient answer in the foregoing statistics; and now it seems proper to drive persistent and ungenerous maligners of Christian Missions and missionaries from that other place of refuge of theirs, namely, if there *are any* Native Christians in India, they are *false ones*. As one has well said, "such persons not unfrequently point to some of the waifs and strays, the ne'er-do-weels of the Native Christian community; and, taking their cue from these hopeless, restless, Christless wanderers, they throw obloquy upon the whole Native Church—as if the Church in Christian lands had not the counterparts of these to bewail, and as if it would be honest and fair to stamp the character of the Church from what is seen of its worthless members." What are the facts in the case? In showing the true state of the Native Christian Church in India, I produce statements of some of the oldest, wisest, and most experienced missionaries, who, during a residence of many years in the land, in the midst of the Native Church, have had abundant opportunity to know whereof they speak. The last Missionary Conference sat in the city of Bangalore in 1879. In that body a committee was appointed upon the Native Church. That committee of old and tried missionaries reported as their candid opinion, that "the Native Church had made progress in other respects" besides numbers. The Christian faith is proving itself still to be the power of God unto Salvation. Those who receive it are drawing from it new health and life, and are manifesting some, at least, of the fruits of the Spirit in their moral conduct and social

condition." The Rev. J. Vaughan, after seventeen years experience among the people, testifies: "As regards the moral standard of the whole Christian community, communicants and non-communicants, my experience leads me, without hesitation, to affirm, that the Native Christians of Bengal are, upon the whole, as moral, as regular in their conduct, as is the great mass of nominal Christians at home." Dr. George Smith, after a residence of seventeen years, affirms: "Of the great body of the Native Church, it may be said that their Christianity is much of the same type as that of the rest of Christendom. Neither from our example, nor in fairness from a consideration of the origin and position of the Native Christian converts, are the churches of Europe and America entitled to expect a higher spirituality than theirs, or at present, more rapid and extensive defections from heathenism and Islam." Bishop Caldwell, whose large practical experience in mission affairs gives him a right to testify, made the following emphatic statement before the Madras Diocesan Conference in 1879. "I maintain that the Christians of our Indian Missions have no need to shrink from comparison with Christians in a similar station in life and similarly circumstanced in England or any other part of the world. The style of character they exhibit is one which those who are well acquainted with them cannot but like. I think I do not exaggerate, when I affirm that they appear to me in general more teachable and tractable, more considerate of the feelings of others and more respectful to superiors, and more uniformally temperate, more patient and gentle, more trustful in Providence, better church-goers, yet free from religious bigotry, and in proportion to their means, more liberal, than Christians in England holding a similar position in the social scale. I do not say that they are free from imperfections, but I am bound to say that when I have gone away anywhere, and look back upon the Christians of this country from a distance,—when I compare them with what I have seen and known of Christians in other countries, I find that their good qualities have left a deeper impression on my mind than their imperfections. I do not know any perfect Native Christians, and I may add that perfect English Christians, if they do exist, must be admitted to be exceedingly rare." Such testimony might be multiplied, but it is unnecessary to add to the above in order to prove the point under consideration. In connection with these statements, notice *two facts* in evidence of the moral stability of the Native Church. (1.) The Native Church is growing in liberality and Christian giving. From 1851 to 1861 the Church gave the sum of Rs. 93,438, but in 1871 alone it gave the almost equal amount of Rs. 85,131, which was more than one rupee for each communicant. In 1878, in South

India alone, the Native Church gave Rs. 75,000. The Church at Nagarcoil, through the example of one good native deacon, gave nearly Rs. 1,000, more than the whole Travancore London Missionary Society Mission, at the date of the Ootacamund Conference in 1857. Dr. Jewett, of the Baptist Mission in Ongole, states that the new converts contribute about Rs. 400 per month, a fact which not only shows their sincerity, but proves their liberality. From a review of the Karen Missions for 1877-1878, it appears that the people have done remarkably well in the way of "approach toward general financial independence and self-support, the entire appropriations of the home society of the American Baptist Missionary Union to the Karen work for the year being Rs. 66,094, while the Karen Churches contributed Rs. 72,695 for the purpose of carrying on the work of God in their midst. They have also given Rs. 76,154 towards lands, buildings, and presses for the benefit of the people. The other fact is this: (2.) The number of voluntary workers and unpaid agents in the Native Church is increasing. In almost all the Native Churches, there are persons who devote themselves to the work of God without pay, while there are many others who take only what is required to supply the necessaries of life. An experienced missionary, in an essay on the Native Church, read before the Bangalore Missionary Conference in 1879, remarked: "We see individuals here and there shewing very remarkable zeal in evangelistic work. I know such in Travancore, and our reports speak of others whom I do not personally know. I do see members of the Church, then, both men and women, engaging in voluntary work for Christ. I hear of the same thing in Tinnevelly, as when, a short time back, at the annual meeting at Enengnanapuram, on Bishop Sargent's expressing a wish to address a few words of encouragement to the voluntary workers then present, no fewer than one hundred and twenty-four men stood up, and thirty-eight others offered themselves as fresh volunteers. And not only men, but women too,—women, as I have heard, in the Mission of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, being even more forward than the men. The brethren in the Nellore and Madura Missions bear emphatic testimony to the same effect." When such can be said of the Native Church in India by candid and careful men, who know whereof they affirm, and when there is such liberality and voluntary work on the part of the membership, there must be vitality and life, and consequent success.

Educational advancement and indirect influence of Indian Missions.—1. Educational advancement. There are two phases of this subject to which I would particularly call attention. The first is, the numerical progress of schools. In the paper on the "Progress and Prospects of India Missions," prepared by that careful author and experienced missionary, the late Rev. M. A Sherring of Benares, and read before the Allahabad Missionary Conference in 1872, the statement is made that "in the year 1861, there were in all the missions 75,975 pupils under instruction; in 1871 there were 122,372, of whom 22,611 were young women and girls. This shows an increase of 49,367. In the previous ten years, from 1851 to 1861, the increase was less than 12,000." In South India, during the last twenty years, all missionary bodies, and especially all missionaries, have become even more deeply convinced of the necessity and importance of Christian schools as a missionary agency, and especially as the influence of Government schools is, for the most part, non-Christian. Below are some of the comparative school statistics for South India:—

Schools.	Number of scholars.		
	1857.	1878.	Increase.
Anglo-Vernacular ..	6,327	19,659	13,332
Vernacular	28,029	52,482	24,453
Girls' schools	8,990	26,209	17,219
Total ...	43,346	98,350	55,004

In the department of higher education, between 1861 and 1871, 1,621 pupils, educated in Indian mission schools, passed the University Entrance Examination, 513 passed the First Arts Examination, 154 took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, 18 that of Master of Arts, and 6 the degree of Bachelor of Laws. During the last twenty years mission schools have in every way increased threefold, and those who have received their education in them are to be found in every department of Government service. The second phase of this subject is—the influence of mission schools upon the land. How marked has been their effect during the last twenty-five years. In the language of the *General Review*, Bang. Con., 1879, "The influence of mission schools upon the thousands who pass through them it is impossible to estimate. But testimony comes from all quarters as to the good they effect in various ways." I might briefly notice here some of the ways in which their influence is felt. There is surely a secular influence goes forth from them, as well as from all schools, which betters the intellectual condition of the people, and the masses are led onward by them in the path of civilisation to prosperity and success. This is one way in which missions benefit India; and that man must be blind, indeed, who can see no good in such benevolent institutions. There are thousands to-day in India who owe their daily bread to the education they have received in mission schools. And, as the Bangalore Mission Conference report states, the moral influence of mission schools cannot be over estimated. There are often young men led to renounce idolatry and embrace Christianity through the influence of mission schools, and their usefulness in the native Church is far beyond their numbers. And then, besides these converts, there is an influence upon the masses which is for good. Ideas are being changed, conscience is being enlightened, and a congenial soil is being prepared for the reception of the word of God. And the influence of mission schools is being felt in the native Church. Native Christians are are being prepared for the work before them. Catechists and helpers are being educated to cope with the thousand forms of error about them. Nearly all the rising generation of native Christians have received, and are receiving education in these schools, and, along with secular knowledge, are being taught sound morals. Thus, as the Christian Church advances in numbers, it will be prepared to take the lead in all that is good and useful.

2. Indirect influence of Missions. Besides these direct advances which are being made by the Christian Church in India, Indian missions have started a thousand influences, whose power cannot be directly measured, but which are telling mightily upon the great systems of the Empire, and which, silent, gradual, and pervading, are destined to permeate and change the whole mass of heathenism and Islamism. Among these may be mentioned briefly :- (1). The general enlightenment of the masses. Is it not a fact that there are many things in India which cannot stand the light, and that the moral and intellectual light poured in by mission preaching and teaching has caused thousands to be ashamed of many of their social and religious habits, customs, rites, and ceremonies, and to denounce all faith in them; and many, although not yet baptized, are intellectually convinced of the truth of the Christian religion. Many of the better educated Hindus, and especially those who have received the moral training of mission schools, look with utter contempt upon the superstitious customs of the peasantry, and are now ready to deny that they have anything to do with such foolish beliefs. The most casual observer can see, that even staid, conservative India is undergoing a great moral change for the better, and the careful inquirer will find that this is largely due to the influence of Christian Missions. (2.) The influence upon idolatry. During the last half century, marked changes have taken place in the Hindu's reverence for his gods, and it is a known fact that not a few have entirely renounced idolatrous practices, and others only continue them through family associations, superstitious fear, and caste prejudices, not having sufficient moral courage to avow their sentiments. The different sects, such as the Brahmo and Aryasamajas,

the followers of Keshab Chunder Sen and Dayan and Saraswati, which in these days are separating from the old religion, are but the result of Christian teaching and Christian ideas, taught mainly by Christian Missions and Christian missionaries. And these sects denounce idolatry in no ambiguous terms. (3). The decay of caste. Whatever be the cause, caste, that great Oriental tyrant, is on the decline. Thousands all over the land feel it to be a cruel burden and long to be rid of it. Caste distinctions are not held so strongly as they were, and castes are drawing nearer together. Brahmans are found in almost all positions. And the educated are free to admit the absurdity and foolishness, not to say sinfulness, of them altogether. And has not this been largely brought about through the influence of Christian Missions? (4.) Public spirit. Such a thing had almost been crushed out of the people. They were under the fiat of the conqueror, so completely subdued, that there was no hope, no ambition, no public spirit left in the masses. But now the people show a desire to learn. There is increased popular inquiry after truth. Thought is being stimulated and quickened. Wherever missions are in progress, justice and morality increase, and the people think more about religion, and many become earnest and sincere inquirers. (5.). Treatment of women. Through the influence of missions the female sex is being blessed and benefited. Women and girls by the thousand are being educated and made companions for, and not slaves of, men. Said a learned Mahommedan in Turkey to a missionary—"You are right, we must educate our girls: on that depends the welfare of our country. We have lost our place among the nations because our sons have no mothers." And, has not that been true in India, and as much among Hindus as Mahommedans? Christianity is the friend and protector of women. It is the purpose of Christian missions to correct this social defect, and give woman the place she should occupy. All women are now more honoured; in some places women are allowed to go abroad, widows are permitted to re-marry, and all over the empire thousands of girls are at school, being prepared for useful, independent lives. These things show the power and progress of Christian missions.

(6.) Lastly, look at the personal and literary influence of missionaries. Seven hundred cultivated Christian gentlemen, with their wives and families, residing in different places, up and down throughout this great empire, must, in their constant contact with the people, exert an influence upon them for good. Besides that, the literary and philological achievements of missionaries cannot be overlooked. "Since the beginning of modern missions the Bible has been translated into 212 languages, spoken by 850,000,000 human beings and distributed at the rate of nearly twelve copies every minute. It will not be long before the Bible will be published in every language on earth. All this has been done by missionaries. Thirty-nine of the languages referred to, never had a written form, until the missionaries created it."

Now, is any one prepared to shut his eyes to all these powerful influences at work in India to-day, and pronounce Christian missions, by means of which all these influences were set in motion, a failure? Shall Carey, and Duff, and Wilson, and Sherring be forgotten? Are the more than two hundred thousand boys and girls under Christian instruction not being bettered by it? And will the learning of mission schools have no effect upon their life and religion? Should not the fact be acknowledge that, besides the visible signs of progress, there are a thousand secret forces at work by means of which India is undergoing a great moral change? All these indicate the success of Indian missions.

The ultimate success of missions.—I now come lastly to assert this fact, that if during the whole history of Protestant missions in India, since Ziegenbalg and Plutschau landed at Tranquibar in 1706, or William Carey first set foot on the soil of Bengal on the 11th of November 1793, there had not been one single convert to the Christian faith, it would be, although natural and human, still illogical and premature to announce the failure of Christian missions in India. In proof of this, let evidence be submitted to a candid world.

1. Those who pronounce modern missions a failure must bestir themselves to prove ancient ones a failure also, for modern missions are as successful as ancient ones. As Dr. Murray Mitchell said at the Allahabad Missionary Conference in 1872, "*the failure of modern missions* is becoming almost a stock phrase in certain quarters. I am convinced that the expression is entirely unreasonable. Test it by statistics, in so far as statistics are available; and assuredly there is no cause for discouragement. It would be exceedingly interesting if we could state the number of Christians who were in the world in the beginning of the second century, about 70 years after the command was given—" Go unto all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature." The number has been calculated at a million, or perhaps a million and a quarter. Now, modern Protestant Missions may be said to have commenced only 70 years ago. The number of men, women, and children who are connected with these missions, and who, but for the missions, would have been heathen, could not be put down at a lower figure than a million and a half. Tried, then, even by an arithmetical standard, and compared with the missions of Apostolic days, our modern missions are an unquestionable success."

2. Again, those who pronounce modern Missions a failure must first undertake the task of proving the failure of Christianity, for missions are not a failure unless Christianity itself is. Those, therefore, who recommend missionaries to give up the work as hopeless, should, first of all prove the Christian religion to be false, and then, with the downfall of the Christian edifice, will be carried in utter ruin the whole scaffolding of Christian missions. But it is a most encouraging fact that, while the ultimate success of missions is wrapped up in the genuineness and divinity of the Christian system, the triumph of the Gospel of Jesus Christ in the world is most clearly and emphatically revealed. Every knee must bow, and every tongue confess, that Jesus Christ is Lord. He must reign until he hath put all enemies under his feet. The world is given by covenant to Jesus Christ, and it has been said to Him, by Him who hath power to fulfil the promise:—"Ask of me, and I shall give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession. The isles wait for his law. The wilderness and the solitary places shall be glad for them; and the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose. And they shall teach no more every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord: for then shall all know me, from the least of them, unto the greatest of them, saith the Lord."

3. God's commands and promises to us concerning mission work are an abundant assurance of its ultimate success. The marching orders of the Church are: "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature. Go ye therefore, and teach all nations.... to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." And the additional promise of Him who sends His messengers forth into all the world is, that "The kingdom of heaven is like unto leaven which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal, till the whole was leavened," showing that the silent, hidden, active, pervading, growing, principle of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, as presented by the commissioned agents, will spread, and permeate, and overcome, until the whole world is full of the glory of God.

4. As to Indian missions in particular, it may be said of them, in the language of an experienced Indian missionary, that "the enlarged activity of the native mind, the thirst for education pervading large masses of the people, the earnestness being manifested in the native Church, the energy and zeal and love for souls which some of its members are displaying, the growth of a liberal spirit among the Christian communities, the increasing number of catechists, Christian teachers, and ordained native ministers—all these circumstances, while irrefragable signs and proofs of progress, are also bases upon which to

build our hopes for the future." I cannot better conclude this paper than by using the language of that grand Oriental scholar, Professor Monier Williams, with which he concludes his recent book on Hinduism:—

"Then let the Christian missionary, without despising the formidable Goliaths to which he is opposed, but with the quiet confidence of a David in the strength of his own weapons, go forth fearlessly, and with the simple sling and stone of the Gospel in his hand, and do battle with his enemies, not forgetting to use the sword of the Spirit. Much ground, indeed, has been won already by the soldiers of the Cross; but to secure a more hopeful advance of Christianity throughout India, a large accession to the missionary ranks of well-trained men, thoroughly conversant with the systems against which they have to contend, and prepared to *live*, as well as preach the simple story of the Gospel of Christ, is urgently needed. And far more than this is needed, for the complete triumph of God's truth in India. Nothing less is demanded of us Englishmen, to whose charge the Almighty has committed the souls and bodies of two hundred and forty millions of his creatures, than that every man among us, whether clerical or lay, should strive to be a missionary according to the standard set up by the first great Missionary—Christ himself. Let no lower standard of duty satisfy us. So will the good time arrive when not only every ear shall have heard the good news of reconciliation of man to his Maker, but every tongue also of every native in India, from Cape Comorin to the Himalaya mountains, shall confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father."

J. E. Scott.

Sitapur, Oudh.

ART. VII.—THE BISEN TALUKDARS OF NORTHERN OUDH.

(*Gazetteer of the Province of Oudh, 3 Volumes, royal 8vo. Lucknow: 1877.*)

THE valley of the Gográ to the foot of the hills has been historic ground from a remote period of antiquity. A highly fertile plain, unbroken by a single hill and watered by many bountiful and perennial streams, it attracted the attention of the Aryan immigrants soon after their arrival, and has ever since been one of their principal seats in India. The earliest mention of the place occurs in the Vedas, as *Uttara-kosala*, or Northern Oudh, where Agastya first established his hermitage, and the sacred spot is still shown to passing travellers. According to local tradition Brahmá himself invited the primitive sages to establish his worship in this valley, from which circumstance the place is said to have got its name. A part of it was once owned by Yavanásva, a solar king, who claimed to be the tenth in a direct line from the sun.

Subsequently the whole tract formed a part of the thriving kingdom of the Hindu beau-ideal of royal perfection, the hero of the Rámáyana. On the partition of his kingdom after his death, the northern portion, including the valley under notice, fell to the share of his son, Lava, whose capital near Srávasti, modern Sáhet Máhet, is still remembered. Local legends connect Debi Pátan, a part of the tract, with Karna, the half brother of the Pándus, who, forsaken by his mother, and knowing no father, found an asylum here.

Who the successors of Lava were, is not known, but it is generally believed that they were Kshatriyas of the solar line, bearing the tribal name of Sákyas. Tibetan Buddhist legends make them the descendants of seven brothers, who, exiled from their native land, found an asylum in the wild, inhospitable Terai, and there, in the absence of a more eligible consort, married their own sister, and assumed the title of Sákya, or the 'daring'; because they unhesitatingly set aside all conventional marital rules, to maintain the purity of their blood. In time their descendants spread wide, and established many principalities all over the valley. At the close of the seventh century before Christ, they owned the whole of Oudh and some tracts lower down, probably as far as Benares. But it was the birth of Buddha among them at this time that gave to the tribe its highest importance. The saint was born near Kapilavastu, modern Bastí, and for many years of his life spent the rainy season in the monastery of Jetavana (the Grove of Victory) near Srávasti. At that time Prasenajit, a relative of his, showed him every attention, and erected for his accommodation the monastery in question. Virudhaka, son of Prasenajit, did not accept the religion of his father; he greatly oppressed the Buddhists, and is said to have confined 500 Buddhist virgins in his harem. For the last offence "it was predicted that on the seventh day he should be consumed by fire. To falsify the prophecy, he and his court spent the day on boats on the pond to the south of the city; but the waters fled back, the earth yawned, and the guilty monarch disappeared in a supernatural flame." Eliminating the miraculous element from the story, we have only an instance of some condign punishment meted to a seceder, and a break in the continuity of Buddhism in the family, which in the case of a religion of so recent a growth at the time was by no means improbable, or even remarkable. Buddhism, however, was then on the ascendant, and could not be affected by such an accident. The monastery daily rose in importance, and pilgrims by thousands upon thousands flocked to it every year, to visit the most important scene of their Lord's ministry, and enriched it greatly by their contributions.

It is said, that "at the end of the second century B. C. Ráhulata, the sixteenth Buddhist patriarch, died here after having imparted his secret lore to the King's son, Sanghánandi." This would suggest the idea that the house of Srávasti returned to the fold of Buddha at this time; but whether so or not, the family of Prasenajit continued Buddhists for nearly four centuries, until the time of Rájá Vikramáditya, at the close of the second century. Opinion is divided as to who this Rájá was. According to some he was a King of Sáhet Máhet; others urge, with a considerable show of evidence, that we have in him the Vikrama of the Gupta dynasty, for it is admitted that his sovereignty extended as far as Málwá. The Sákyas, who had hitherto held the different principalities of the Gográ Valley, receded before their assailants; many exchanged their Buddhism for the religion of the aggressors, gave up their tribal name as suggestive of unpleasant associations, and gradually lost all power and influence. In the beginning of the 5th century (A. D. 403), when the Chinese traveller Fa Hian visited the place, the Sákyas as a dominant race had passed away, and all Buddhist sanctuaries were in ruins. Religious enthusiasm had erected monuments to commemorate every incident in the history of the Saint's early career, and many of these were still standing in the city of his birth at the time of Fa Hian; but the city itself, according to the traveller, "was a vast solitude, having neither king nor people.

There were only ecclesiastics, and some tens of houses of inhabitants." Two centuries later, Hiouen Thsang, another Chinese traveller, found it in the same ruinous condition. "Il y a dix villes désertes qui offrent un aspect sauvage. La ville royale est en ruines, et l'on ne sait plus quelle était l'étendue de son circuit. Le palais, qui existait dans l'intérieur de la capitale, avait de quatorze à quinze li de tour. Il etait éntièrement construit en briques. Ses restes sont encore hauts et solides ; il est désert depuis des siècles."

The history of the place for the next four or five centuries is almost a perfect blank. Tradition dwells on certain non-Hindu races, the Ahirs, the Bhars, the Thárus, the Tiárs and the Dóms, as dominant during that period, and every relic of the long forgotten past is ascribed to them. It is unquestionable that the Bhars and the Thárus were ascendan; for a time; but the Hindus were never entirely expelled. In the management of civil business the Hindus were so far superior to the Bhars and the Thárus, that the latter could not do without the former, and were gradually supplanted by them. The history of almost all the old Hindu families of the province is more or less connected with the valiant, but unbusiness-like, Bhars, Thárus, and Dóms. A Hindu was a manager of a Bhar estate here, he assassinated his chief, and became the master; a Bráhman there had collected some followers, and expelled a Bhar chief; a Kshatriya free-lance, in another place rebelled against a Bhar or a Tháru, and became the ruling power; and so on. Incessant feuds and fights and faithlessness, carried on for years, culminated in the entire overthrow of the aboriginal races as dominant powers.* The people who contributed most to this revival of Hinduism were the Rájputs of the Kalahans, the Janáwar, and the Bisen clans, and it is to the history of the last of these that I propose to devote this paper.

The Bisens trace their origin to a Bráhman saint of the nam of Mayúra Bhatta. He was, they say, a native of Panchabati in Southern India; born Samvat 45. From that place he came to Benares to prosecute his studies, to which he devoted a long period, and ultimately repaired to, and settled in, Northern Oudh, where he passed his days as a hermit. This is, however, not in accord with the story of his having married four wives, and of the Bisens of the present day being the 115th generation in a direct line from him. It is impossible in the long run to reckon more than three generations to the century, and there being nineteen centuries from 45 Samvat to the present day, the utmost number of generations cannot be more than 60, instead of 115. The saint is acknowledged by the Bisens to be the author of the *Súrya-sataká*, a century of verses in praise of the sun-god. It was composed to bespeak the favour of the divinity in curing him of leprosy. If so, the saint should be identified with the poet of the same name, who is often noticed in Sanskrit literture. This poet lived at Avanti, and there encountered Sankara Achárya in a polemical debate. He subsequently removed to Kanouj, and was present in the court of Srí Harsha, and gave his daughter away in marriage to the celebrated poet Bána. This would place him in the middle of the 7th century A.D., and I see no reason to assign him a greater antiquity. The title *Bhatta*, 'a professor of the Sanskrit language,' shows that he was a householder, and his well-filled zenana gives no very satisfactory idea of his saintly character. According to Sir Henry Elliot, "Mayúr Bhatta, though himself a religious man, was not able to withstand the solicitations of ambition, and taking up arms after returning from a pilgrimage to Benares, acquired possession of the greater part of the country between the Ganges and the Gandak." (*Supplemental Glossary* 1, p. 42.) In Sanskrit literature he is always described as a poet, and never as a *Muni*, the epithet which the Bisens invariably apply to him, calling themselves *Muni-vañsa*, or descendants of the Muni. It is said, that, one morning, seeing his daughter, just out of bed, stretching herself in a yawn, he extemporized a stanza in which he compared her to Cupid unbending his bow after a long night's warfare. The lady was greatly shocked at this, and cursed him to suffer from leprosy. According to a Sanskrit rhetorical work called *Kávya-prakasa*, the century of verses aforesaid cured the disease; but the Bisens hold that it failed, and that thereupon the poet cursed the temple of his divinity at Bahraich to be desecrated by Yavanas, and that none of his descendants would visit it. A temple is even now shown in the suburbs of the town of Bahraich, which was formerly dedicated to the rising sun Bálárka but now contains the mortal remains of a Muhammadan saint, and is called Bálapir, and no Bisen ever enters it.* The story runs that Syad Sálár Mu-aúd Ghází, a nephew of

---

* A doggrel, popular in Oudh, says that in the Sultánpur parganá, "the Bhars were supplanted by the Bhadaiyáns, the Bhadaiyáns by Tiárs, and the Tiárs by Bachgotis, who were Rájputs originally, but since their perversion to Islamism are known under the náme of Khánzádas. Remnants of all these non-Aryan races are still met with, occupying the lowest stratum of society. As entire village in the Bhingá ráj is now owned by Bhars.

---

* This is, however, limited to the Bisens only: other "Hindus as well as Mahommadans," says Sleeman, "make offerings to this shrine, and implore the favour of this military ruffian whose only recorded merit consists of having destroyed a great many Hindus in a wanton and unprovoked invasion of the territory." Diary 1, p. 49.

Mahmúd Gaznavi, was, when on a jehád in India, petitioned by one Kaliáu Kuar for assistance with a view to punish the great Rájá Sáhil Deo, of Sáhet Máhet, for the latter having forcibly married his cousin to the bethrothed of the former. The Syád accordingly marched with his troops to chastise the Rájá, but was defeated and wounded; and, dying of his wounds at Bahraich, was buried in the said temple.

Of the zenana of Mayúra Bhatta, the eldest member, and probably the only one who was obtained by wedlock, was Nágaseni, a Bráhmaní of the Vasishtha gotra; and by her he had Nágesa, whose descendants are now called Nágesvar Misars, and respected as Bráhmans of the highest caste in Oudh. The second was Haikumárí, a Bhuinhárí, whose descendants are now represented by the Hathuhá and the Tamkhoi Rájás. These claim to be of the lunar race, because they say the lady belonged to the race of the famous King Gádhi. The third was a Kurmí's daughter, and the fourth, a Rájputní, named Súryaprabhá, whose son Bisva Sen, was the founder of the Bisen clan of Rájpúts. Under the Hindu law the issue of a Bráhman by a Kshatriya woman in the present sinful age can only be a Múrdhábhisikta; but the Bisens claim the caste of their matriarch, and call themselves Kshatriyas of the solar race: some prefer the lunar line.

From what has been said above, it will be seen that Mayúra did not own a permanent home at any one place. The Bisens, however, believe that he spent the latter part of his life in the village of Kakrádit, on the Sarayu, Tahsil Nagrá, district Azamgarh, 14 miles to the east of Majhauli. Whether he had the whole of his zenana here or not, is nowhere stated; but, seeing that his descendants by his different wives are separated by wide areas, it may fairly be assumed, that, in moving from one place to another, he did not carry about all his impedimenta. Certain it is, too, that his descendants by his Kshatriya wife are the most prevalent in Majhauli and its neighbourhood.

His son Bisva Sena did not succeed to his estates between the Ganges and the Gandak, but is reported to have overthrown the Bhars under Chakranaráyana, Rájá of Sirohi, and established a ráj of his own with Majhauli for the seat of his government. This he is said to have gradually extended to the Nepal hills on the north, the river Sarayu on the south, Patna on the east, and Ayodhyá on the west. There is nothing, however, to prove that such was really the case; and even if it be admitted that Bisva Sen did form so large a dominion, it is certain, that it was not long held intact by his descendants. At a time when every landlord called himself a rájá, and deemed the sole occupation of his life to be to rob his neighbours in order to extend his own possessions, there-could be no stability for any lengthened period. The ráj of Bisva Sena dwindled away during the reign of his successors, and the chief who now represents the Majhauli ráj cannot show a longer rent-roll than of Rs. 40,000 a year.

The descendants of Bisva Sen constitute the Bisen clan. Their tribal name is due to a corruption of the name of their first parent. They are recognised generally as good Kshatriyas, and intermarry with the Sarnet, Surajbans, and Kalhans Rájputs, and receive daughters from Chandels, Bais, and inferior Chauháns.

They have multiplied very extensively all over the valley of the Gográ, and as far west as Rasulábád in Cawnpur, and also in Kewai, Kurari, Karrá, Chail, Bará, Khayrágarh and Atharban, in the Allahabad district; Chibuman in Banda; Badlápur and Mariahú in Jaunpur; Bhadoi, Pandra and Athgawon in Benares; Shádiábád, Pochhotar, Bahriábád and Haveli in Gházipur; Muhamadábád, Gohná, Nizámábád, Mahul, and Bhadún in Azimgarh; and Chillopar, Salimpur, and Majhauli in Gorakhpur. In Oudh their total number was, according to the Census of 1869, 13,874. Socially they are of much greater importance. Everywhere they hold a high position in society, and enjoy the respect of their neighbours. They have divided themselves into three leading septs, *viz.*, Majhauli, Goráhá, and Rámpuri. Every sept is represented by one or more chiefs, owning extensive tracts of land for their estates, or ráj. The parganá of Aonao seems to have been one of their most ancient possessions, and is named after Unwant, a Bisen chief, and his descendants still hold a number of villages in it, in spite of all the efforts of the Muhammadans to dispossess them. "One of his descendants, according to tradition, rendered military service to Jay Chand in resisting Mahmúd Ghori." (Sherring's Castes, 1, p. 218). In the present day there are in Oudh alone thirteen talukdárs of superior rank with the title of Rájá, and many, of secondary position as Thákurs, whose ancestors were barons of great power and influence: a few were swept away by the tide of the Mutiny. Of the talukdars of the first rank, those of Bhingá in the Bahraich district, and of Mánikápur and Birwá in the Gondá district, belong to the valley of the Gográ; and ten, *viz.*, Kálákankar, Dhirgwas, Budri, Dhangaon, Dhanawan, Chourási, and Kandorjit (divided into four estates,) belong to Pratápgarh, in the southern portion of Oudh. Of the barons who have been swept away by the Mutiny, the most important was that of Gondá. All these are branches of the Majhauli family of Bisva Sen.

The western portion of Gorakhpur, which includes Majhauli, originally formed a part of Oudh, but it was separated from it when Gorakhpur came to the East India Company, and the baronof Majhauli, therefore, does not now represent a talukdár of Oudh. The ráj of Majhauli (or Madhyávali which was its original name) when first established by Bisva Sen, was, as stated above, a very extensive one. In the language of Bisen encomiasts, the disintegration of the ráj was due to extravagant liberality. According to it the ráj of Sattási (a tract of 87 koses, which comprises the city of Gorakhpur) was given away to one of the predecessors of the present Sarnet Rájá as a reward for some petty good service. The ráj of Aliganj, in the district of Sáran, went to a Muhammadan for a similar reason, though it is probable that good service in this case was a euphemism for a forcible dispossession. To Mahárájá Rúp Mall, another noted chief has been ascribed the gift of a ráj under a curious circumstance. A menial servant, Kurmi by caste, while engaged one evening in shampooing the feet of his master, drowsily stooped on the feet, and received on his forehead a patch of sandal paste from one of the royal toes. The master, happening to observe this, thought it would be inconsistent with his dignity to allow a person to receive royal unction on his forehead without a ráj. He accordingly bestowed an estate, 28 miles in extent, on the sleepy servant, whose descendants now hold it under the title of Rae Pudrán.

A predecessor of Rúp Mall was one Dhúm Sen. He was renowned as much for his valour as for his patriotism. He joined one of the Ránás of Chitor to repel a Muhammadan aggression, and for his distinguished services in the battle-field was honored with the title of Malla, which his descendants in the Majhauli ráj have ever since borne. His great grandson, Bodh Mall, did not inherit the antipathy which his ancestors bore towards the Muhammadans. He ingratiated himself in the good graces of the Muslims, and was highly honored at court; but at heart he was an unflinching Hindu. Once, when returning from court, he ordered his khawás to bring him some water, and he drank what was served him; but it was soon after discovered that by a mistake his drinking cup had been exchanged for that of a Muslim subáhdár. This was a pollution which, however unwittingly caused, was inexpiable. He returned to his capital, caused his son Bhawáni Mall to be installed Rájá in his place, and retired to a village, named Nagar, to pass the remainder of his life in penance and rigorous asceticism. The story runs that, when the Emperor of Delhi heard the news, he tried to soothe the offended feelings of the chief by showering on him many honors, and gave him the name of Islám Khán, whence his capital Majhauli derived the *alias* of Salimpur. They were, however, of no avail. The resolve, once taken, could not be set aside, and the Mahárájá ended his days as a hermit.

The story, however, as it stands, is inconsistent, and suggests the idea of an apostacy which has been euphemised by Hindu tradition. The Mahárájá must have accepted the Muhammadan name to bestow it on his capital, and, the name being still associated with Majhauli, it is obvious, that he did accept it. Apostacy from the religion of a subject race to that of a ruling one is not, and never was, an uncommon occurrence.

To this stock of Majhauli belong the leading Bisen chiefs of Northern Oudh, and circumstantial and genealogical details are given at great length to prove this. It is not worth while to enter into these, but it may safely be asserted that the most powerful among the Bisens, the Rajás of Gondá, unquestionably belonged to the Majhauli branch. The history of these Rájás occupies a prominent place in the annals of the Bisens, and shows clearly the character of the entire clan.

The present district of Gondá had long belonged to the Doms, from whom the founder of the Kalahans dynasty wrested it at the close of the 13th century. But his descendants did not hold it long. As the third or the fourth in a direct line from the founder, we come to the name of Achalnaráyan Sen, who is described to have been a great tyrant. "His last act in a career of unbridled oppression was to carry off to his fort at Lakriá Ghát, near Khorása, the virgin daughter of Ratan Pánde, a small Bráhman zamindar in the Burhápárá parganá. The outraged father pleaded as vainly as the father of Chryseis for reparation, and his vengeance was as dramatic and more complete. For twenty-one days he sat under a tamarind tree at the door of the ravisher, refusing food and drink, till death put an end to his sufferings. His wife, who had followed him, died at the same time from grief. Before his spirit fled, he pronounced a curse of utter extinction on the family of his oppressor, modifying it only in favour of the offspring of the younger Ráni, who alone had endeavoured to induce him to break his fast. The curse was not late in being verified. In a few days a mighty wave of the Sarayu broke upon the fortress of the Chief at Lakriá Ghát, and swept away every thing, leaving not a single member of the household alive." And thus ended the rule of the Kalahans in Khorása.

At this time the Bisens occupied many villages in the district, and were strongly represented in the community; but none had attained the rank of Rájá, as some of them had in the southern parts of the province. The province now formed a part of the empire of the Patháns, and was governed by a Subahdár. On the death of Rájá Achalnáráyan, the affairs of the district fell into great disorder, and at the recommendation of Sarabjit Singh, Bais, one Pratáp Mall, Bisen, a cadet of the house of Majhauli, was appointed to preserve peace and order, and from him dates the rise of the Bisens in the Gogra Valley. Active, enterprising, and unscrupulous, he had all the requirements at hand to gratify his ambitious and turbulent disposition. His surroundings were equally favorable. In the language of the settlement officer, "on the death of Rájá Achalnáráyau Singh, the whole of his ráj fell into a state of anarchy; predatory bands roamed all over the district, rendering cultivation impossible, and the Government revenue ceased to be paid. . . . . . All over that portion of the Khorása principality, which was finally consolidated into the Gondá ráj, the most powerful Chhattri families belonged to the same clan as himself, though at the present day their descendants are unable to trace their origin to our common ancestor. Along the north, divided into the great branches of Rámápur, Bechaipur, Bankata, and Kheradih, the large class of Bisens of Rámpur Birwá extended over a tract nearly forty miles long, bounded on the north by the Kuwáná, and on the south by the western Terhi or the Bisuhi, while further, the Gorábá Bisens covered what is now called the Mahádevá parganá, and several less important families of the same stock were proprietors of single villages." Pratáp Mall made the most of these advantages. He soon became a leader and chief, and with the aid of his clansmen, all trained to arms and fond of warfare, which was the natural profession of their caste, greatly extended the area of the estate which was originally entrusted to his care. He lived in his ancestral home at Gohání in the present parganá of Digsár. He kept up constant forays against his neighbours, and every raid added to his military renown and material prosperity. He does not, however, appear to have assumed the title of Rájá, or to have disowned his subordination to the Subahdár of Oudh, or to have refused the revenue of his estate to his liege lord. His son Sháh Mall, and grandson Khurram Mall, followed his example, and remained loyal to the Subahdár. They did not, with the family property, inherit the turbulent spirit and the business capacity of their ancestor, and had to content themselves with what they had inherited. Their time and talents had, moreover, to be devoted to the consolidation of what Pratáp had wrested from his neighbours.

Khurram Mall was followed by his son Mán Singh, a short, unprepossessing-looking person, but of the most restless and turbulent disposition. When not engaged in fighting with his neighbours, he indulged in hunting, and when hunting failed to afford him sufficient excitement, he turned to his neighbours. The story runs, that on one occasion he was hunting where Gondá now is, and a hare turned round and put his hounds to flight. "If the air of this place," he exclaimed, "can make hares braver than dogs, what will it not do for men?" He resolved, accordingly, to try the experiment by building a fortress for himself near the spot. This story is similar to what is related of an Orissan king, who, hunting near Chaudwar forest, noticed a crane sitting on a hawk which it had killed, and immediately caused his capital to be established there. The story is probably false in both cases, and in that of Mán Singh, the motive must have been a political one. His home at Goháni was not located in a very secure place, and he could not build a fortress there without attracting the attention of his superior, the Subhadár of Oudh; but in the midst of a jungle which was strategically better situated for defensive purposes, he could carry out his project of building a fortress of considerable strength without any risk of being disturbed, and he acted accordingly. The fort was completed, according to local tradition, in Samvat 1575=A. D. 1518, *i.e.*, in the reign of the Pathán Emperor, Ibráhim Lodi.

Soon after this he assumed the title of Rájá. About this also there is a story related by the Bisens:—"Mán Singh, they say, had for his family priest one Dallá Pánde, whose descendants are described to have been the most turbulent among the smaller zamindars of Mahádevá. Dallá, it is said, had two syces, Sher and Selim, who went to Delhi, and by their brave conduct in war rose to the command of the imperial forces, and found themselves strong enough to expel Humáyún, and usurp the throne of India. In their exalted position they did not forget their old master, the Pánde, and sent him a firman appointing him Rájá of Gondá. As a Brahman he felt an aversion to rule, and passed the title on to Mán Singh in whose family it thenceforward remained." The story is false on the face of it. Whatever his origin, Sher Sháh, to whom reference is made here, was never a syce, and the coupling of the two names betrays the unskilfulness of the concocter of it. Anyhow the title did not come to Mán Singh, and, in assuming it, he did exactly what others had done before him, and many have done since his time. Having become the master of a fort, it was but fit and proper, he thought, that he should be called a rájá, and he had himself so proclaimed through his priest.

He went further. Relying on the strength of his fort, he repudiated all payment of revenue to the Subahdár, and claimed hegemony over his neighbouring chiefs. The time was very favourable to him. With Humáyún expelled from Delhi, and Sher Sháh busily engaged in wasteful and harassing wars in different places, the Subahdár was not in a position to divert the flower of his army to punish refractory landlords in the wilds of Bahraich; what troops he sent from time to time to chastise the rebels were easily subdued, and their guns and equipments snatched from them, and Mán Singh rose steadily in power and influence. Matters, however, changed when Akbar came to his throne. His generals were successful everywhere. One of them took the fort of Gondá by a bold assault, and carried away Mán Singh prisoner to the presence of the Emperor. Akbar was surprised at the puny appearance of Mán Singh, and asked, "How could such a pigmy as you commit so much mischief?" This was more than the haughty Rájput blood of Mán Singh could stand, and he retorted by asking, "How does the tiny little thunderbolt cause so much injury?" The repartee pleased the Emperor, and he set the prisoner at liberty. He also restored to him his ráj; and conferred on him the title of Mahárájá, with liberty to confer titular honors on others by offering the *tilak*; and the use of the kettledrum, when marching about from place to place. Thus was the foundation laid of a ráj, which held the foremost place in Northern Oudh for full three hundred years. He was the first to give up the Majhauli title of Malla, and assume that of Singh, which his descendants have ever since borne.

Mán Singh left four sons, of whom the eldest, Lakshman Singh, succeeded to the chieftainship of Gondá, and the others were provided for by the grant of 640 villages, stretching from Khargupur, Lakandipur to Mánikápur. The descendants of the latter, the Thákurs of Vidyánagar, Kaimi and Gorábi, now hold only a few villages in the eastern corners of Mánikápur and Chandipura in Mahádevá.

Tradition preserves no account of Lakshman Singh, son of Mán Singh, and the only thing said of his son, Narbáhan Singh, is that he withheld, like his grandfather, the government revenue, and fell in battle, fighting against the troops of the Subahdár. He left four sons, of whom the eldest, Durjan Singh, succeeded him. His two younger brothers, Bán Singh and Bir Sháh, were provided with small estates which are now held by their descendants as Thakurs of Birdehá, Hindu Nagar, and Bisvambharpur. Durjan Singh was as fond of fighting as his father, but he was more discreet. Instead of setting himself up against his Muhammadan suzerain, he turned his attention to his neighbours, the Rájás of Baundi and Ikauná. Both of them were defeated, and made to contribute largely to the enrichment of the conqueror. The former purchased peace by the relinquishment of a large parganá, and the latter had to give up his entire ráj for a period of twelve years. The real cause of quarrel in all such cases is, of course, the desire on the part of the more powerful and turbulent to rob his neighbours, but the ostensible one in the instance of Ikauná was the refusal of Jagat Singh to acknowledge the hegemony of the Gondá chief by sending for the second time a supply of white lotus flowers required for the performance of a Vedic rite commenced by him with a view to get male issue. The rite proved ineffectual, because, as the legend would have it, the flowers were not forthcoming in time, and Durjan died childless, leaving his ráj to his youngest brother, Amar Singh, who had not been, owing to his youth at the time of his father's death, provided with a separate estate.

Amar was a weak prince, totally unfit to maintain the leadership of his ancestors, and his neighbours were not slow in taking advantage of this circumstance. The Rájá of Ikauná, who had been for some time smarting under the loss of his family dominion, organised a large army, assailed Amar with great force, recovered his long lost kingdom, including a large slice of the Gondá ráj, and fully avenged the disgrace that had been cast on him by Durjan Singh.

The fallen fortunes of Gondá were retrieved by Rám Singh, son of Amar. He was a very powerful and warlike chieftain, and, during the whole of his reign, about the close of the 17th century, engaged in fighting with his neighbours. When the fort of Gondá was first erected, the country around it was full of jungle, and the spot was selected obviously because it was not liable to sudden surprises. Extensive clearances, however, had since been effected, and population had greatly increased, making the ráj less secure than was desirable. Boundary disputes, too, were in those unsettled periods constantly arising, or were made to arise to satisfy the earth hunger and the fighting proclivities of neighbouring chiefs. There was a tract of land between the Bisuhi and the Kawáná rivers which had been the apple of discord among the Bisens and the Janáwárs for a long time, and had frequently changed hands according to the varying fortunes of war. At the time when Rám Singh came to power it was held by the Janáwárs, and protected by a mud fort at Bhatpur. Rám Singh, therefore, set to reduce the fort as a preliminary to his regaining for his family the disputed Doab. His enterprise proved successful: the fort was destroyed, and the Doab annexed to Gondá. A similar annexation was effected on another side, after long protracted desultory fights against the Raikwárs, and the parganá of Paharpur, including 24 villages, rewarded his labours.

His successes in the battle-field did not, however, bring that satisfaction which all who have extensive estates to bequeath so earnestly long for. He had no son to inherit his ráj. To provide for this "he had recourse," says the historian,

> "to the services of Gángá Gir Goshain, the most noted of his time among the holy men of Ajodhyá. The Saint had two favorite disciples, Datta and Bhawáni; and at the urgent entreaty of the Rájá he despatched them to Benares with a direction that they were to insert their heads into a grating which overlooked the Ganges, and as the guillotine-like door descended from above to decapitate them, to pray to the River who received their lives, that, in exchange for each, a son might be given to the Gondá Chieftain. The sacrifice was efficacious, and two sons were born, who were named, after the authors of their life, Datta and Bhawáni. At the same time the Goshain gave the Rájá a tooth-pick, and directed him to plant it in Gondá, with the prophecy that as long it remained green, so long the family of the Bisens should prosper. It grew into a *chilbi* tree* throwing out two branches. In the mutiny when his rebellion cost Rajá Debi Baksh Singh his estates, the principal bough was broken off by a hurricane. The second yet remains, and with it are bound up the fortunes of the descendants of Bhawáni Singh."—*(Gazetteer I., p. 558.)*

Coming to the ráj of Gondá at an early age, Datta Singh found himself called upon to uphold the leadership of his house against very powerful rivals. But he had all the warlike instincts of his father, and was in no way unequal to the task. The whole of his long and chequered life was spent in forays and feuds and fights, but he succeeded in raising his house to the highest position of rank and influence among the chieftains of Oudh at the time. All the leading Bisens joined him, and altogether twenty-two independant chieftains reckoned themselves among his allies, and "made common cause with him in all the wars in which he was engaged." Nor were the Hindus alone that joined him. Even the Pathán chiefs of Utraulá accepted his leadership, aided him in wresting from their rightful owners the estates of Pahárpur and Ata, and annexing them to his ráj. One of the Utraulá chiefs acted as his standard-bearer, "receiving from him a fixed honorary stipend while within the boundaries of his ráj. The district under his immediate rule covered the present parganás of Gondá, Mahádevá, Nawáganj, Digsár, Pahárpur and half Gowárich, while a brother reigned at Bhingá, and a son at Mánikápur." In short, "the Bisen of Gondá had no rival, and was absolute master in the territory submitted to his sway."

---

* This is the *Holoptelea integrifolia* of Planchon. It is better known under the name of *Ulmus integrifolia*, which Roxburgh assigned to it. Its twigs are used as tooth-brushes, but it is otherwise, of no value.

Following the tradition of his ancestors, Datta Singh early refused to pay the revenue of his estates to the Subahdár, and this reduced him to the most critical position for a time; but he got over it in a highly satisfactory way. When Aláwal Khán, the lieutenant of the then Subahdár, Sádat Khán, first came to Gondá to demand the revenue, he was, according to the usual custom of the time, received with every show of respect; but the interview between the two was by no means pleasant. Aláwal was a Bahraich Pathán of stalwart make, while Datta Singh, compared to him, was a pigmy, and when the two embraced each other, the Pathán, out of mere frolic, lifted him off the ground, and thereby put the Rájput to shame. He then wanted to have an interview with Bhawání, the brother of Datta Singh; but Datta, instead of presenting him, put forward Bhairon Rae, "the tallest of the Gorahá Bisens," to play his part, and when the ceremonial embrace followed, Aláwal was lifted up in the same way in which he had put Datta to the blush, and this laid the foundation of an enmity which ended with the life of one of the two contending parties. At the time both dissembled their rage, and Aláwal was sent away with fair promises; but as soon as he was gone, Datta backed out of his engagement, and declined to pay. This led to the return of Aláwal, and the history of the wars of the two rivals has been thus summarised in the Oudh *Gazetteer* from a contemporary ballad which is very popular:—

"Aláwal crossed the Gográ at Paska in Gowárich, and the Kalahan of that parganá, smarting under their recent defeat and despoliation, flocked eagerly to his standard. His enemy seems to have established an advanced post beyond the limits of his ráj, on the very banks of the river, and the fort of Paska was held in his favour by Bodh Tiwári, who was killed after a stubborn resistance. The Pathán was equally successful at Maloná, where he defeated the Bráhmans under Náráyandatt Pánde. He then pitched his camp on the Tirhi, to the west of Gondá, and occupied himself in plundering and driving off the herds of the neighbourhood. This was at the beginning of April, when the two great fairs at Debi Pátan and Ayodhyá had drawn off a number of Rájá Datta Singh's best fighting men, so he replied to the insolent challenge of his foe that he would be able to send in his revenue after the Rámanavami festival.

The requisite time was gained by negociations, and finally Datta Singh marched forth from Gondá at the head of the Bráhmans of his ráj, and the whole of the Goráha Bisens of Mahádevá * * * The opposed forces met at Saharangpur, about six miles to the west of Gondá; but the Muhammadans were dispirited by an irreparable accident which had befallen them on the morning of the fight;—their leader, while mounting a restive horse, was thrown, and broke his right arm. He made light of it himself, and, binding it up in a sling, put himself at the head of his troops. The battle, after a distant exchange of matchlock fire, resolved itself into a series of single combats, in which the bard does full justice to the bravery of Aláwal Khán. For some time it seemed as if the Bisens would be defeated, and Datta Singh prepared to leave the field. The remonstrances of his brother restrained him, and a final effort was made by the Goráhas. Bhairon Rae, the same as had figured in the first meeting of the rivals, singled out Aláwal Khán, and, after a desperate fight, clove his head open. On the fall of their Chief, the Nawáb's troops fled, and Datta Singh was left master of the field."

The success of Datta was, however, short-lived. His estate was large and important, and the Subahdár could not allow it to lapse after a single campaign. A large imperial army was sent to chastise the rebel chief, and Datta was not prepared to face it in the open field. He shut himself up in his fort, and allowed it to be besieged. Time passed on, and the cordon of the besiegers approached closer and closer, till at length the last resource of the Rájput knighthood was openly discussed. That resource was the most dreadful that human pride had ever conceived, breathing defiance to the enemy to the last, and vivid with a lofty sense of dignity and self-respect, which, however cruel in its effects, could not but command the highest respect. It was no other than the fatal *Johar*, to which the flower of Hindu chivalry in Rájputáná had so often resorted to save the honors of their family. It was to consign the ladies of the family to a burning pyre, and then to rush to the battle-field with drawn swords to die the death of heroes. Our moral feelings may revolt at the idea when we think of it in the calm atmosphere of our study, but, given the alternative of death or forced concubinage and slavery in Muslim households, no sense of dignity and self-respect would for a moment hesitate which to accept. Datta Singh, however, was saved the necessity of having recourse to this awful sacrifice. When he was ready for it, and almost at the last moment, his clansmen of Rámapur, headed by Bir Bihangam Sháh came to his rescue, and with their aid he was able to drive away the enemy from his door. The long protracted siege had already thinned the ranks of the Muslim army, and an attack from the rear by the fresh troops of Rámpur was what they were not prepared for. The siege was raised, and a settlement was come to, by which Gondá was made independent of the Názims of Bahráich and Gorakhpur, and subject only to the payment of a tribute direct to the Nawáb of Oudh.

The lesson which this war taught the Chief of Gondá, seems to have been most carefully remembered. Datta Singh always remained faithful to his engagement, and had no further misunderstanding with the Subahdár of Oudh. His fondness for predatory warfare was not, however, in any way overcome by his reverses. If he was not a match for the Subahdár, he knew that his neighbours were not much more powerful than he was, and he never ceased to rob them, whenever an opportunity was presented to him. The most powerful among these was the Rájá of Bansi, and with him he carried on a long protracted war, and, to quote the language of the historian, "twenty pitched battles on the boundary of Utraulá and Tulsipur ended in the final defeat of the Bansi Rájá. His capital was sacked, himself killed, and the doors of his fort still decorate the mansion of the last of the Gondá rájás."

Circumstances helped Datta Singh to obtain dominant influence in two estates which had before been independent of him. These were Mánikápur and Bhingá. The story runs, that on the birth of his second son, the astrologers in his court reported that on the sixth day the infant would become a rájá. This was interpreted to mean that both Datta and his eldest born would die within the term specified, to enable the newcomer to attain the ráj, and the order was at once issued that the infant should be done away with. The stars, however, had provided for such a contingency. Before the order was carried out, the Rájá of Mánikápur died, and his widow adopted the infant, thereby both verifying the prophecy of the astrologer and deterring Datta Singh, her brother-in-law, from the committal of an inhuman and most horrible murder.

As regards Bhingá the tradition is, that its Rájá, a scion of the Janáwar clan, was unable, in his old age, to cope with certain predatory bands of robbers or gypsies, who disturbed the peace of his estate and looted his subjects, and he was obliged to seek, or was made to accept (it does not appear which), the aid of Bhawáni Singh to put them down. Bhawáni's mission proved completely successful. He not only expelled the robbers from the chieftainship, but, tarrying there for a while, he availed himself of the opportunity which the death of the Janáwar Chief soon after afforded him, to make himself the Rájá of the estate.

Datta Singh lived to a good old age amidst great wealth and splendour; but his hunger for his neighbour's lands never forsook him. The story runs, that even on his death-bed the only regret he had to express was, that he had not been able to annex to his ráj the estate of Gangwál. Such a wish at such a time was not to be allowed to go unheeded. Anant Singh immediately sallied forth with his army and brought the Chief of Gangwál a prisoner before his dying grandfather. It did not, however, suffice to satisfy the hunger. Greatly satisfied as Datta was, at finding that he left in his grandson a worthy representative of himself, he felt that his object had not been attained. "Alas," said he, "that you have brought him a prisoner! Had you killed him on the battle-field, his estate would have been mine, but since he is a prisoner, and sues for mercy, he must be restored to his ráj."

The glory of the house of Gondá rose to its zenith during the reign of Datta Singh, and the decline commenced soon after His son, Addait Singh, had a religious turn of mind, and devoted himself to the study of the religion of Vaishnavism, to repeated pilgrimages to Muttra, and to the society of Gossains. The memory of his rule is preserved in a distich which says heroism departed with Datta, and the cymbal and the tambourine of the hermit came to the country with his son. Certain it is, that the peaceful, ascetic simplicity of his life did not at all commend itself to people who looked upon warfare as the most important and legitimate duty of existence. His son Mangal Singh married a daughter of the Kalahans Rájá of Puráshpur; and on that occasion Addait restored to its rightful owner the greater part of the State, which his father had annexed to his ráj.

Regarding Mangal Singh the only event of note is that he had become the arbitrator in a quarrel between the heirs of the Rájá of Bansi, and, while out in camp in the Basti district, was assassinated by one of the contending parties, the Surajbansi chief of Amorhá. The murder was signally avenged by his son Sivaprasád. He at once led the Bisen forces into Amorhá, and laid the whole parganá waste, killing every Surajbansi that fell into his hands; nor did he relax his hold on it till it was transferred, with the rest of Sarkár Gorakhpur, to the English by the Nawáb of Oudh.

At a time when fighting, constant and hard fighting, was the only means of retaining power among the turbulent barons of Oudh, three such peaceful reigns as those of Uddait, Mangal and Sivaprasád were quite sufficient to undermine the most powerful estate, and to bring on a crisis. Jai Singh, the son of Sivaprasád, very imprudently betook to the prevailing evil of the time, that of withholding the tribute due to the Nawáb. A new complication also arose. A Major Hanek, an Englishman, was favoured by the Názim of Bahráich, and under his auspices had established an indigo factory at Goháni, the original seat of the Gondá family. Jai Singh resented this intrusion; but he was unable to cope with the army which came to chastise him. The forces of the Názim, aided by Major Hanek, were too much for him; his men were routed in a sharp encounter, and he was driven away from his ráj to seek shelter in the fort of Bhingá. But his followers, even when united with the troops of Bhingá, were unequal to the contest. After repeated sorties from the fort, he was obliged to fly for life. He betook himself to the Nepal hills, where he died, leaving no issue, and with him ended the ráj of Gondá as an independent chiefship. His wife Phulkuwar, adopted Gomán Singh, the grandson of Pahlwán Singh, of Birwá, a brother of Mangal Singh, and for a time managed the ráj. The adoption, however, was disputed by an uncle of Gomán. Phulkuwar was assassinated, and Gomán was driven out of home to find refuge with some Pánde retainers of his ancestors, the ráj being in the meantime converted into a talukdári annexed to the private estate of one of the dowagers of the house of the Nawáb.

Gomán died childless, and his wife adopted his nephew, Debi Baksh Singh, to take possession of the Tálukdári.

Debi Baksh held sway over the Gondá ráj at the time of the Mutiny in 1857, and in an evil hour joined the standard of the Begum of Oudh. His character is thus described in the Oudh *Gazetteer* (I, p. 565) :—

> "By vigilant personal supervision, he managed to amass considerable riches, and was probably among the wealthiest of the rájás of Oudh. When Rájá Darshan Singh got the Nizámat, Rájá Debi Baksh naturally anticipated that he would do his best to extort a deed of sale for the valuable property, and avoided the danger by flight into British territory. Annexation was extremely distasteful to him, and he was with difficulty persuaded to leave his fort at Gondá and meet the Deputy Commissioner sent to take charge of the district. If he expected to be treated like his peers in the North-West Provinces, his apprehensions were unfounded, it would have been difficult to find any one with a vestige of proprietary title in the greater part of his estates, and he was allowed to engage for a taluqa of Rs. 80,000. At the outbreak of the mutiny he most honourably escorted all the Government treasure into Fyzabad, and then threw in his lot unreservedly with that of the Begum of Oudh. His main camp was at Lampti on the Chamnai, and there, after the relief of Lucknow, he was in command of a force of nearly 20,000 men. His troops were dispirited by the tremendous success of the English in other parts of India, and during the trans-Gográ campaign offered only the feeblest resistance. Finally, he was driven up into Tulsipur, where he coalesced with the disorderly rabble which was all that was left of the armies of the Begum, Bála Rao, Mahratta, and Muhammed Hasan, the rebel Názim of Gorakhpur. His conduct throughout the mutiny had been free from crime or dishonor, and many attempts were made to induce him to leave his asylum in Nepal, and accept Lord Canning's free amnesty. But he said that, having accepted the Begum's service, he would never acquiesce in the rule of her enemies, and his estates were finally confiscated and awarded for good service to Mahárájá Mán Singh."

Of the Chiefships which emanated from the house of Gondá, the most important are the rájs of Birwá, Mánikápur and Bhingá. The rest were Thákurships, of which no notice need be tensive clearances, and converted a large tract of wilderness into a thriving and well cultivated estate. He followed the well-established policy of the Bisens, of affording full protection and every encouragement to his tenantry, who in return did yeoman's service in his wars with his neighbours. For chiefs of the Bisen class, owning small estates, it was impossible to entertain large standing armies. Like the Scottish chiefs of old, they had to depend on their clansmen, who were steady agriculturists in times of peace, and sturdy, unflinching warriors in times of trouble. The Pándes were specially useful in this respect, and at times the Bisens could raise an army of twenty to thirty thousand of these hardy sons of toil, without having to pay any salary whatever. Bhawání Singh knew full well their value and treated them with every mark of consideration. He died at the patriarchal age of ninety-five years, leaving his ráj to his only son, Barwand Singh.

Barwand was not so fond of war as his father, but he possessed all the instincts of the Rájput race, and was ever ready to protect the weak and defend his clansmen. When Jai Singh of Gondá, escaping from the army of the Názim, sought his shelter, the doors of the fortress of Bhingá were thrown open to him without a thought of the danger which it invited. The Nawáb Vizir's army was at the time commanded by two Europeans, whose names, as pronounced by the natives, were Ganror and Billen. They had a large park of artillery with them, and the fort, which never had any heavy artillery, could not resist the invaders. Barwand Sing had strongly advised his protegé to sue for peace, but the proud Rájput would not listen to the suggestion, and was at last obliged to escape from the fort, and seek shelter in the Nepal territories. Barwand had compromised himself by the shelter he had given to a rebel, and had alone to defind himself as best he could. The siege lasted for some time, but the end was fast approaching. In one of the sorties Sarabdaman Singh, the eldest son of Barwand, was dangerously wounded, and had to be sent away for protection to the Nepál hills. When all further chance of defence was lost, and the final assault was imminent, Barwand himself took the way to Nepal. He had with him his wife, his sister-in-law, his second son, his daughter-in-law, and a few followers. The escape from the fort was easily effected, and, though hard pressed by the enemy, the fugitives travelled over a distance of 22 miles without difficulty; but, coming to a ford at Bhainsári Náká, they found the path closed against them. A camel had fallen dead across the ford, and the pálkis of the ladies could not be taken over it. The ladies were taken out of their sedans, and advised to hide behind rocks; but they saw no protection in such shelter, and, rather than suffer the ignominy of being taken prisoners by the enemy, begged to be at once beheaded. They resounded the name of *Hari* and put forth their necks to receive the fatal blow. The enemy was already upon the fugitives, there was no time for reflection, and Barwand, yielding to his Rájput instinct, ordered his second son to save the honor of the family in the only way in which it could be effected at the moment. The ladies being thus disposed of, the unfortunate old man begged his son to save his life by flight. This was, however, not to be. "Sire," said the son, "forgive me, I have no desire to live any more. Who can give salvation to the murderer of his mother, aunt, and wife? The same weapon which has been the means of destruction to the nearest and dearest, shall also decide my fate." Saying this, he rushed on the enemy, and died the death of a hero. Barwand, overpowered by grief, and disabled by many wounds, was in no condition to escape. He was soon after overtaken and killed by a bayonet-thrust. He was immediately decapitated, and his head was sent to Gondá, where the last rites of cremation were performed on it by a faithful henchman, Izzat Puár, by name. The above awful tragedy was enacted in the year 1783.

Sarabdaman Singh, who had found an asylum in the Nepal hills, remained there till the Názims were changed, and then made his peace with his suzerain, and returned to his ráj. The condition of his estate at the time was miserable; the capital had been sacked, the houses of the well-to-do cultivators had been looted, many thousand heads of cattle had been carried away, and the flower of Bisen chivalry had been destroyed. Sarabdaman's first care was to repair these damages; but before he could effect any material improvement in his estate, he died.

Rájá Siu Singh, the only son of Sarabdaman, was a man of great prudence and ability; he looked after his estate with much care and diligence, and avoided every cause of quarrel with his neighbours and the Nawáb's Government. In 1799, soon after the dethronement of the luckless Nawáb Wazir Ali, a fakir put himself forward as Wazir Ali, appeared at Bhingá with a motley following of desperadoes, and demanded of Siu Singh a large subsidy, including a thousand men and four canons. Siu Singh came out to meet him, and, perceiving that he was an imposter, took him and his principal followers prisoners, and sent them on to Colonel Thomas, who then held command of the British forces stationed at Colonelganj. This act of loyalty brought him well deserved honors, both from the Nawáb and the British Government. The latter sent him a certificate of honor, a purse of two thousand rupees, and a rich sword.

As an instance of his peaceful and forbearing nature, the anecdote is told that on one occasion a cousin of his was caught in the attempt to enter his bed-room with a view to assassinate him, and the Rájá, instead of making him pay the penalty of his offence with his life, simply expelled him from his ráj. This cousin, settling in the Gondá district, acquired a small estate called Diotaka, and, subsequently repenting of his offence, begged to be reconciled to his relative. This was easily effected. On his death-bed this person bequeathed his estate to the chief of Bhingá.

Another anecdote connected with this chief is worthy of note. On one occasion he and Sangrám Singh, one of the rájás of Ikauná, was out on a hunting expedition, when Sangrám killed a deer with his javelin cast from a great distance. The followers were surprised at the feat, and Siu Singh exclaimed "Sabásh! sabash! had it been any baser man than your Highness, I would have given him anything he might have asked." Sangrám was not unequal to the occasion. He said, "If your Highness is really disposed to reward merit, I should thankfully accept your gift." "Well, name any thing at my disposal, and it will at once be yours," said the delighted Rájá. Sangrám pointed to the jungle in which they were hunting, and it was immediately transferred. It now forms the estate of Durgápur, containing the best rice-producing land in Oudh.

Siu Singh was naturally of a religious turn of mind, and delighted not in pomp and parade. He devoted the latter part of his life to pilgrimages, and to translating Sanskrit religious books into the vernacular, leaving the management of his estate to his eldest son Sarabjit Singh. About this time Bhingá became the scene of the murder of an Englishman, a member of the Bengal Civil Service. His name was George Ravenscroft, and he had been the Collector of the Cawnpur district for many years. He had abstracted from the Government treasury a large sum of money which he had, according to Sir William Sleeman, from whose diary we draw this brief narrative, "squandered in lavish hospitality and unsuccessful speculations, and then absconded with his wife and child." The native belief was, that he had carried the bulk of the money with him. Anyhow he retired to Bhingá early in the year 1823, and there sought shelter, and ultimately the means of establishing an indigo factory on the borders of the Terai. Rájá Siu Singh knew nothing of the strict search which the British Government was making all over India for their defaulting officer, and readily acceded to his prayer. Mr. Ravenscroft built a house in the native fashion, with a courtyard in the middle, and thatched huts and out-offices on the four sides, having no opening on the outside, except a gateway in front and a bathroom passage behind. He lived in this house for several months, "daily seeing and conversing with the Rájá and his people on the most friendly terms," and carrying on his agricultural operations in perfect peace and harmony with the people. On the 6th of May, Ensign Platt of the 20th Native Regiment, then stationed at Secrorá, about fifty miles from Bhingá, came to see him, and in the evening the old Rájá and his two younger sons called, as usual, and sat conversing with the family till 9 o'clock, when Mrs. Ravenscroft retired to her room, the Rájá and his sons went away, Ensign Platt took to his sleeping tent under a mango-tree outside of the house, and Mr. Ravenscroft composed himself for sleep on a charpoy in the middle of the courtyard. Two hours later a gang of about sixty Bhadak dacoits attacked the house and Mr. Platt's tent. Mr. Platt received a spear thrust in his forearm, but managed to escape by jumping over a thorny hedge. Mr. Ravenscroft, defending himself from his assailants, fell, after receiving eighteen spear wounds on different parts of his body. In the meantime a faithful servant of his, Musáhib by name, had helped Mrs. Ravenscroft to escape, along with her two maid servants and child, by the bathroom passage. The dacoits looted the house, and then retired. Situated as the house was, far away from human habitation, and a mile off from the Bhingá fort, no assistance could be rendered by the Rájá, or the people of the town to protect it. Mr. Ravenscroft died of his wounds the next day, and was buried close to the house—Mr. Platt reading the burial service.

Rájá Siu Singh came to the spot soon after the occurrence, and rendered every possible help to Mrs. Ravenscroft and her child, placing them in his own fort, and afterwards forwarding them to Secrorá.

The lady was subsequently married to Mr. Ricketts, then British Resident at the Court of Oudh, and her child by her first husband was accidentally drowned in a bath-tub over which he had carelessly stooped while kept confined in a bathroom by his mother for some offence or other.

Three successive enquiries were made, under orders of the British Government, about this murder, but nothing satisfactory was disclosed by them. The fact of Mr. Ravenscroft's hiding at Bhingá was known to several Europeans in Oudh and Cawnpur, but not reported to Government, and Mr. Platt's visit had compromised him; and the reports were consequently so drawn out as not to supply all the information required by Government. None of these, however, cast any reflection on the conduct of Rájá Siu Singh and his family, but Sir William Sleeman, writing twenty-six years afterwards, says, that "the eldest son of the Rájá became alarmed when he saw Mr. Ravenscroft begin to plant indigo, and prepare to construct vats for the manufacture, and apprehended that he would go on encroaching till he took the whole estate from him, unless he was made away with. He therefore hired a band of Bhadak dacoits from the neighbouring forest of the Oudh Terai to put him to death" (*Diary* I, p. 114). Again, "the opinion that the Rájá had nothing whatever to do with the murder, and, that the gang was secretly hired for the purpose by his eldest son Sarabjit, has been confirmed by time, and is now universal among the people of these parts." (*Ibid*, I, p. 121). This opinion was obviously formed on very insufficient grounds. The gallant General spent only two days at Bhingá in the course of his tour, and not quite a fortnight all over Gondá and Bahraich, and could not within so short a period, twenty-six years after the occurrence, collect any reliable evidence to enable him to come to a correct conclusion. It was in the course of casual conversation with a few persons that he obtained what he took for facts, and, knowing, as we do, how the tone of a great man's conversation regulates the turn of the replies given by persons anxious to secure his good-will, we can easily conceive how he framed his opinion. Sarabjit is admitted to have been "a morose person who led a secluded life, and was never seen out of the female apartments, save twice a year, on the festival of the Hooly and the anniversary of his marriage. Mr. Ravenscroft had never seen or held any communication with him," (p. 113), and there is nothing to show that he had ever seen Mr. Ravenscroft. He was a young man of twenty-five years of age, and not much given to business, and the danger to the ráj from Mr. Ravenscroft's extending his plantation, was slight at best, and, whatever it was, more likely to be apprehended by the old Rájá than the 'morose' youth in the zenana. As a matter of fact, as far as I am informed, the people entertained no suspicion against him. On the other hand, a runaway European, hiding from his employers in a deserted and very insecure place, away from human habitation, without a sufficient guard, but reported to be possessed of much wealth, was just the person to excite the cupidity of such notorious and wreckless robbers as the Bhadaks, and under such circumstances there is no *à priori* improbability in their committing a robbery on their own account, without incitation.

Being of a haughty disposition, Sarabjit did not mix much with the world; but in 1821 he had to repel an invasion headed by Nawáb Saifuddowlá, Názim of Gondá-Bahraich. The Nawáb had intended to take the fortress by surprise, but Sarabjit was well prepared for him, and so raked the ranks of his army with his artillery fire, that the Nawáb had to retire in a hurry, and make up with the young chieftain.

Sarabjit died of dropsy in 1824 A. D., and his father died in A. D. 1826, leaving the ráj to his grandson, Krishnadatta Singh, then a youth of eight years of age. The management of the ráj during the minority of the heir devolved on his grandmother, Ráni Vidyá kumári, and it proved highly beneficial to the estate. The population increased very rapidly; many tracts of land, which had never known a plough, were brought under cultivation; wealth and prosperity reigned everywhere; and the good lady was adored as the very personification of Lakshmí, the goddess of prosperity. Nor was consummate ability displayed by her only in the routine management of the estate. Twice was she called upon to face the enemy on the battle-field, and on both occasions she acquitted herself with great credit. The Rájá of Tulsipur had always borne enmity towards the house of Bhingá, and during the management of the Rání a grand attempt was made to wrest from her a portion, if not the whole, of the ráj, the alleged cause being, as usual, a boundary dispute. The rájá of Tulsipur was a chief of great power and influence. He could, at a day's notice, send twenty thousand of his clansmen and retainers to the field. He appeared before Bhingá with a large army and a heavy park of artillery. The Rání, however, had timely notice of his moments, and made every preparation to meet him. The battle was long and hotly contested, but success at last declared for the Rání. She returned from the battle-field, bringing with her as trophies, three guns, which continued to grace the fort of Bhingá, till the time of the late Mutiny.

On the second occasion, she was assailed by the powerful Názim Darsan Singh. The force brought against her left her no chance of success, and she had, therefore, recourse to diplomacy, in which her second son, Omráo Singh, helped her in bringing on a satisfactory settlement.

Rájá Krishnadatta was installed on the *Gaddi* in A.D. 1836, and, three years after, had to defend his fort against a powerful army sent by Begam Wajhan Nisá, widow of Nawáb Saifuddowlá, to enforce an enhanced demand for revenue. The battle lasted twelve days, after which the Rájá, finding it impossible to hold out any longer, had to vacate the fort, and resort to that ever-ready Alsatia of discomfited tálukdárs, the Nepal hills. The Begam's troops burnt down the fort, "plundered all the houses in the town, and all the people of their clothes and ornaments. They seized all the plough bullocks and other cattle, and had them driven off and sold. The women were all seized and driven off in crowds to the camp of Raghubar Singh at Parbatatolah. Many of them, who were far gone in pregnancy, perished on the road from fatigue and harsh treatment."—(*Sleeman's Diary* I. p. 85.)

It was not until a change of Názimship that Krishnadatta could return to his estate; but he had little time given him for putting his house in order. The farming of the revenue to the highest bidder by the King of Oudh, led to constant exorbitant demands on the part of the farmers, and resistance on the part of the more powerful talukdárs was rather the rule than the exception. The new farmer wanted more than was his due, and Rájá Krishnadatta, following the example of his neighbours, declined to submit to the demand. A battle followed, which lasted for twenty-two days, after which the Názim was killed, and his men were completely routed. A second army under the command of an English officer was next deputed by the King, and the Rájá, unable to cope with it, betook to the asylum of the Nepal hills, and again went through the old routine.

In 1854 the Rájá had to face the King's troops for the third time. A disputed succession at Nainpárá had led to two Muhammadan Ránis falling out with each other, and one of these defeated the King's troops, and took three guns from them. Thereupon Ali Naki Khán, the then Prime Minister, who had taken the side of the defeated lady, sent a large army to bring the offending Rání to her senses. The army was swollen by the followers of all the leading trans-Gógrá chiefs who were ordered to join it. Driven to extremity, the lady went to Bhingá, and found an asylum there. The army, according to local accounts, numbered about 80,000 soldiers, having 125 guns with them. The siege was brisk, and the earthworks of the besiegers rapidly approached the circumvallation of the fort, but before the charge was delivered, the intervention of the talukdárs brought on a peace, on the two very simple conditions of the Rájá vacating the fort for a few days, and the Rání surrendering the guns she had taken.

Soon after the above occurrence Oudh was annexed by the British Government, and half of the Bhingá ráj was confiscated on account of a few guns having been found secreted in a jungle near the fort.

While out on a hunting excursion with Mr. Yule, the then Chief Commissioner of Oudh, Rájá Krishnadatta received an accidental shot, either from his own gun, or that of a servant, who was seated behind him on his elephant, and died of the wound in the month of May, 1862.

On the death of Krishnadatta, his estate was taken charge of by the Court of Wards on behalf of his minor son, Udaya Pratáp Singh. The youth was then twelve years of age. His conduct in the Ward's Institution of Lucknow, where he was educated, was exemplary. He remained there of his own accord a year longer than the period of his minority, and received an excellent education. Since his assumption of the ráj he has done every thing to endear himself to his tenantry, and to win the good opinion of the officers of Government. He owns an excellent Sanskrit Library, maintains an Anglo-Vernacular School, and a first-class Dispensary, for which he has provided commodious buildings at his own cost, and contributes largely to all projects for the amelioration of his people. During the famine of 1874, he opened poor houses at different places in his estate, and spent a large sum of money in relief works and public charity. It is gratifying to note that the Government of India has lately conferred on him the title of Rájá Bahádur in recognition of his public services.

RAJENDRALALA MITRA.

ART. VIII.—ECONOMIC REFORM IN RURAL INDIA.

(Continued from "Calcutta Review," January 1882.)

CHAPTER II.

Land Improvement; to secure a larger yield.

"You may order production; you may command cultivation; and you will have done nothing. But assure to the cultivator the fruits of his industry, and perhaps in that alone you will have done enough." *(Bentham.)*

"The only insecurity which is altogether paralysing to the active energies of producers is that arising from the Government, or from persons invested with its authority. Against all other depredators there is a hope of defending oneself." *(John Stuart Mill.)*

THE reforms advocated in the last chapter would increase the cultivator's happiness by giving him security of holding and more food. They would confer the second of these benefits by limiting rent to the equivalent of a fair customary share of average produce; by the abolition of rack-renting, whether in the direct form of an unfairly high demand, or in the indirect form of taking a full rent in a bad season; and by securing to the improving tenant the fruits of his outlay and labour. It will probably be admitted that these reforms in distribution would raise the condition of the cultivator and strongly stimulate production. But, valuable as they would undoubtedly be, they are only a part of what has to be done if the rural classes are to be adequately relieved. However fair the rent, however sound the tenure, the depression of the ryot and his dependents will not be removed, until the pressure of population upon the means of subsistence is lightened by getting from the soil a larger yield.

But this larger yield cannot be got, unless that which is taken from the soil is given back to it; unless the oxen are strong to labour; unless the enormous increase of outturn which irrigation gives, is developed; unless the periodical wholesale disappearance of harvest and grain-heap, by drought, is prevented.

The object, therefore, of the present chapter is, after establishing the necessity for the larger yield, to show why present efforts fail to secure it; to outline the principles of a new policy, better calculated to stimulate production to the required extent; and to fill in some of the details for carrying such principles into action.

In "England's Work in India" (Chapter III.—The adjustment of the food-supply to the growing population), Dr. Hunter has demonstrated the urgent necessity of steadily and permanently increasing 'the harvest of the hamlet.'

He reviews successively the poverty and density of the population; the increasing keenness of the struggle for existence; the want of cities and centres of manufacturing industry in a country where 'practically the whole people has to make its livelihood by the tillage of the soil'; the growth of the landless classes; the exhaustion of the soil by over-cropping and consumption of manure for fuel; the ploughing-up of pastures and clearance of jungles, and the consequent spread of cattle-disease.

I make no apology for the length of the following extracts. For, though few will plod through these dull pages of mine whom a happier fate has not already drawn to "England's Work in India,' it is possible, I hope, even for an obscure district officer to add in some small degree to the working force of the great statist's generalisations by reproducing his statement of some of them, and tracing some of the steps by which they may be brought into the sphere of practical action.

The conclusion reached by Dr. Hunter is this:—"You now know what I mean by the poverty of the Indian people. More food is raised from the land than ever was raised before; but the population has increased at even a more rapid rate than the food-supply. We are compelled to stand by and watch the pitiless operation of economic laws whose force no man can stay. Those laws decree that a population of small husbandmen which marries and multiplies irrespective of the means of subsistence shall suffer a constantly increasing struggle for existence. . . . . The extent of the evil may be thus stated. Two-fifths of the people of British India enjoy a prosperity unknown under native rule; other two-fifths earn a fair but diminishing subsistence; but the remaining fifth, or forty millions, go through life on insufficient food. It is these under-fed forty millions who form the problem of over-population in India. The difficulty of solving it is intensified by the fact that, in spite of the hard struggle for life, their numbers rapidly increase . . . . . . Mr. Caird estimates that the Indian population increases at the rate of two millions per annum. If the lot of the people is to be really improved, additional supplies must be provided, not only to feed these new mouths, but to furnish a more adequate diet for the already existing ones. This latter task means an annual increase of food sufficient to entirely feed at least half a million, or to double the rations of one million of the poorer classes. In this way the lot of ten millions of these classes would be ameliorated in the course of ten years; and the condition of the whole would be gradually improved in the course of a generation. The initial problem, therefore, is to increase the means of subsistence in India, so as to annually feed two and a half millions more people; two millions representing the actual increase in numbers, and the half million representing a double diet for at least a million of the poorer classes . . . . . . Over population in India is the direct product of British rule. We have taken on ourselves the responsibility, by removing the previous checks upon the increase of the people,—checks which, however cruel, are the natural and inevitable ones in Asia, and which take the place of the prudential restraints practised by the peasant-farming races of Europe. We must now discharge that responsibility, and as our own civilised rule has created the difficulty, we must meet it by the resources of civilisation. These resources may lighten the pressure of the population on the soil in three ways:—first, by withdrawing large numbers to non-agricultural industries; second, by distributing the pressure over new or under-populated tracts; third, *by increasing the produce of the existing area of cultivation.* . . . The food-supply of India must be augmented so as to allow of an annual increase of two and a half millions of people. . . . Now two and a half millions are less than one and a half per cent. of the present population, and the present food-supply is more than that population consumes. . . .

If, therefore, we add one and a half per cent. yearly to the food production, the supply will more than keep pace with the increased demand upon it, so far as the internal wants of India are concerned. I shall specify four out of many considerations which make me believe that, without attempting any flights in scientific farming, it is possible to steadily increase the Indian food-supply to the extent of one and a half per cent. per annum. The first impediment to better husbandry is the fewness and weakness of the cattle. . . . The second impediment to improved husbandry is the want of manure. If there were more stock, there would be more manure, and the absence of fire-wood compels the people to use even the scanty droppings of their existing cattle for fuel. Under such circumstances agriculture ceases to be the manufacture of food, and becomes a mere spoliation of the soil. . . . The third impediment to improved agriculture in India is the want of water. Mr. Caird, the chief English authority who has enquired into the subject, believes that if only one-third of the cultivated area were irrigated, India would be secure against famine. At any rate, an extension of irrigation would alone suffice to raise the food-supply by more than one and a half per cent. during many years. . . . *Looking to what has of late years been done, and to what yet remains to be done by wells and petty works with the aid of loans from the State, I think we may reckon on a vast increase of food from irrigation.* . . .

The fourth means recommended by Dr. Hunter for the improvement of Indian tillage, is the reconstruction of the Agricultural

Department of the Government of India, already an accomplished fact.

"I have now," Dr. Hunter concludes, "both set forth the problem of an increased food-supply for India; endeavored to state its exact dimensions, and shown that, while it demands organised efforts on a great scale, it is quite capable of solution. The problem, however, is not only one of supply, but of distribution. By one set of efforts the food must be increased; another set of efforts must secure a fair share of that food to the actual tiller of the soil. In Southern India . . . . the cry of the peasantry is for protection against the money-lenders.........In Bengal the cry of the peasantry is for protection against the landlord."—(England's Work in India, pp. 74 to 96).

In my chapter on Rent reform I have tried to sketch the lines on which should be projected that set of efforts which aims at securing 'a fair share of the food to the actual tiller of the soil.' The next chapter (Cheaper production) will, it is hoped, contribute something to the solution of that other question of improved distribution which is raised in the cry 'protection against the money-lender.'

The present chapter aims at suggesting one of the 'sets of effort' by which the food-supply may be increased.

Having quoted high authority for the statement that such increase is necesasry I go on to show why present efforts fails to secure it. What I have to say, however, on this subject, will be chiefly confined to the third of the means recommended by Dr. Hunter for the improvement of Indian tillage. For the fourth, the reconstruction of the Agricultural Department, has already been achieved. And the first and second, the improvement of stock and conservation of manure, have been so recently and ably handled in Mr. Allan Hume's "Hints on Agricultural Reform in India," as to make it superfluous to say anything more about them.

What I have to say about the extension of irrigation, and about land improvement in India generally, can best be said in connexion with a matter now under examination by the Government, the causes of the failure of the Land Improvement Act (XXVI of 1871).

The Famine Commission (Report II, pp. 144, 145,) say that the evidence they have received renders it unquestionable that this Act has failed to realize the intention of promoting improvements, and that there is a very general reluctance to make use of its provisions. The sums advanced under it have been extremely small, amounting in 1877-78 to only Rs. 427,841 in the whole of India, and "bear no proportion whatever to the need which the country has of capital to carry out material improvements."

The most prominent among the causes of this disappointing result have been:—"The obstacles created by inefficient native subordinates, to whom the granting of such advances gives extra trouble; the delay and expense of the initial procedure, under which the first application has to be stamped, the bond for repayment stamped and registered, and a minute and troublesome inquiry has to be made into the nature of the applicant's tenure and its value; the necessity of paying interest, which is usually fixed at 6¼ per cent. per annum; the small number of years over which repayment may be spread, and the consequent largeness of the annual instalments; the early date at which they begin to fall due, even before the improvement has begun to realise a profit; and the rigidity of the rules for punctual repayment." An inquiry is recommended to be made, and is now being made, as to how far these complaints are valid, and to what extent they can be met by an alteration of the rules. There is no reason to doubt that, as proposed by the commission, unnecessary impediments will be removed from the procedure; the period for repayment enlarged, the rate of interest lowered, and the district officers stimulated to promote the disbursement of these advances more actively than hitherto.

A much more serious obstacle to the success of the Act than any of these is described in the following passage (p. 145). "Another reason has been prominently alleged for the disinclination of landowners to spend money, whether their own or borrowed, on the improvement of the land, and that is their doubt whether at the expiration of a term of settlement they will be allowed to enjoy the whole profits of such an improvement, or whether it will form the occasion for an enhancement of their assessment. . . . . We think it important that a precise and permanent understanding should be come to on the subject and ratified by law. The landowner should be guaranteed against any enhancement of his assessment for such a period as shall secure to him such a reasonable return on his investment as will encourage the prosecution of improvements. It appears to be quite possible to draw up a set of rules defining what the period should be for any locality or any class of cases, so that it may be clearly known, without fear of mistake or danger of retractation and change of view, by every landowner or tenant who executes a permanent improvement on the land, whether he is entitled to the entire profits arising from it, or to a part, for ever, or for a term of years."

Elsewhere (Report II, p. 169) the Commission remark, with special reference to wells:—

"It might also be possible to stimulate well-construction by extending the practice of Bombay and Madras to Upper India, so far as to rule that the assessment of land irrigated from a permanent well should not be liable to enhancement on account of the well at any revision of the settlement, provided the well is kept in efficient repair. But whatever plan be adopted to facilitate well-construction, we can hardly doubt that in some way the landholder must discharge the cost of first construction, with interest thereon, in a term of years, and thereafter become the sole owner of the well, and be placed in respect to it in exactly the same position as that which he would have occupied if he had made the well himself."

It will be seen that the Commission sound a very uncertain note as to the nature of the required guarantee. They seem to halt and waver between two conflicting opinions, the opinion that enterprise and outlay are adequately remunerated when the improver is secured in the enjoyment of the profits of his improvement until he has recouped his outlay with interest, and the opinion that the profits of an improvement should be permanently secured to the improver.

The Famine Commission's analysis of the causes of failure seems to be defective in the following particulars. It does not go down to the roots of the injustice done by the State in many parts of India to zamindars, improvements. It does not set up any standard of equity by which the question of the treatment of tenants' improvements by the landlord, and of landlords' improvements by the State may be determined.

It does not note to how large an extent the disinclination to improve, where not explicable by the want of a satisfactory guarantee, is caused by the superior lucrativeness of money-lending as an investment for capital; by friction between landlord and tenant, in respect of tenants' improvements; and by the unfairly heavy burden thrown on the zamindar-landlord and on the ryot by the failure of the chief landlord, the State, to take any direct or active share in village improvements.

The attempt will now be made to supply these omissions. So far as it may be successful, it will tend to make the analysis of the causes of failure exhaustive, and also to mark out the general course which reforms to remove these causes must follow.

It will be made under these six heads :—

(1.) The nature of the injustice done by the State to land improvements by zamindars.

(2.) What are the requirements of equity in the treatment of (Indian) tenants' improvements by landlords and of (Indian) landlords' improvements by the State?

(3.) Is equity satisfied by the non-taxation principle as applied in Bombay and Madras, and by the recoupment principle as applied in the North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Punjab?

(4.) The friction between landlord and tenant caused by the want of definite equitable rules regulating their respective rights about improvements.

(5.) The disinclination to improve arising from the greater lucrativeness of money-lending as an investment.

(6.) The extent to which the failure to improve is traceable to the neglect of the chief landlord, the State, to take any active share in ordinary village improvements.

(1.) *The nature of the injustice done by the State to land-improvements by zamindars.*

The principle seems in theory to be generally admitted in India that security is to be enjoyed by the improving zamindar that he will either permanently reap the fruits of his labour, or be fully compensated for his outlay if the State takes a share of them.

But this principle is applied in a variety of ways, all of which cannot possibly be right. And, as will be seen, though everywhere held in theory, it is not everywhere carried into practice.

In the Punjab the maker of a new well is protected for twenty years from any increased demand for revenue based on the increase of assets produced by the well. Similar protection for ten years is given to those who repair old wells or dig water-courses. Evidently it is supposed in the Punjab that in ten and twenty years respectively the profits of repairing and making wells recoup the outlay, and that such recoupment adequately compensates the improver.

In the North-Western Provinces the same principle was announced in 1872, but with this important difference, that no period is prescribed within which recoupment is to be assumed to have taken place. About this point the settlement officer is to exercise "an intelligent discretion." He is "to assess on existing rents, but in such a way as to allow the capital expended by the builder of a masonry well, if he be at the time of settlement out of pocket by it, to be recouped."

In the Central Provinces no definite rule has been laid down.

In Oudh the North-Western Provinces principle has recently been announced. The Oudh rule now is that "lands irrigated from masonry wells, or otherwise permanently improved by landholders at their own cost, will be so assessed that no extra demand will be made from the landholder who has constructed the well or works, until he shall have recovered his outlay thereon, including capital and reasonable interest."

In Madras and Berar rules, not having the force of law, obtain "that the assessment on lands on which wells or other improvements have been constructed by the owners or occupants at their own cost shall not be enhanced at a future settlement, except on the ground of a general revision of the district rates." (Famine Commission, Report II, p. 145).

In Bombay this rule has been enacted by express law. Section 30 of the Bombay Survey Act (I of 1865) says:—"Such assessment shall be fixed, not with reference to improvements made by the owners, or from private capital, or resources, during the currency of any settlement under this Act, but with reference to general considerations of the value of land, whether as to soil or situation, prices of produce, or facilities of communication."

A gradually ascending scale of liberality may thus be traced from the hard-and-fast ten and twenty years recoupment rule of the Punjab, through the more elastic application of it in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, to the rule, in Madras and Berar, that improvements are not to be taxed at all, and to the ratification of this rule, in Bombay, by express law.

These systems fall into three classes: the class in which (as in the Punjab, Oudh and the North-Western Provinces) the recoupment principle is adopted, and the class in which (as in Madras, Berar and Bombay) it is rejected.

A third class is represented by the Central Provinces where no guarantee is given at all.

The fact that in six out of the seven provinces it has been found necessary to give a guarantee of some sort, is, perhaps, a sufficient indication that the want of a definite rule in the Central Provinces must discourage improvements, and expose improving zamindars to the risk of injustice.

The adoption of the recoupment principle in three provinces, and its rejection in three other provinces, seems to show that three out of the six must certainly be following a wrong course. If equity demands that the registered ryots of Madras and Bombay should permanently retain that portion of the assets which is developed by their improvements, *a fortiori* must it demand a similar privilege for the registered zamindars of Oudh, the Panjaub, and the North-Western Provinces. If, on the other hand, the recoupment principle can fairly be applied to the zamindars of Upper India, *a fortiori* can it be fairly applied to the registered ryots of Southern and Western India. The Government can scarcely escape one or other of the horns of this dilemma. Either it is wrong in taking any of the fruits of the zamindar's outlay, or it is wrong in taking none of the fruits of the registered ryot's outlay. In the one case the interests of the zamindars of Upper India are suffering; in the other, the interests of the general taxpayer.

Justice requires, therefore, either that in Upper India the recoupment principle should be given up for the principle of absolute non-taxation of improvements, or the non-taxation principle, which was adopted in Madras in 1852, and in Bombay in 1865, must be given up for the recoupment principle, adopted in the North-Western Provinces in 1872.

Or, if neither of these principles is found to be satisfactory, some third course must be devised.

In a matter of such extreme importance, on which principles so conflicting are being followed with, apparently, the certain consequence that serious injustice is being done in several provinces of India, it would be a very good thing to trace the history of the birth, growth, and ultimate acceptance of these opposing principles.

A clear summary of the discussions and arguments by which the non-taxation principle has been reached in Madras and Bombay, and the recoupment principle in Upper India, could scarcely fail to give all the data required for a sound decision, or to show conclusively on which side lies the greater truth and weight.

As a contribution to such a summary I offer the following notes, in the hope that the subject may attract the attention of some of my brother civilians in Madras and Bombay, who can get at the facts, to me at present inaccessible, for those Presidencies.

The earliest mention of the question that I can trace, is by Sir Thomas Munro, in Madras, in 1797, and by Mr. Holt Mackenzie, in Upper India, in 1819. It is noticeable that both of these eminent men adopted the principle of non-taxation.

On the 18th July, 1797, Sir Thomas (then Captain) Munro, the great founder of the ryotwari system of settlement, then an assistant in the Salem district, suggested to his district officer :—

"No additional rent should ever be demanded for improvements. The ryot who, by digging a well, or building a tank, converts dry land into garden or rice-fields, should pay no more than the original rent of the ground . . . . . . Nothing would more tend to secure a country from famine than numerous wells. They are so little affected by the seasons, that their crops seldom fail ; they require no extensive repairs ; they do not fill up, nor are they liable to be swept away by floods, or to be destroyed by an enemy, like tanks . . . . . Had it ever been the practice, under Indian Governments, instead of building tanks themselves, to have let their ryots do it, without raising their rents, there would now have been infinitely more wet lands than there are, an equal or a greater revenue from them, and without any expense to the public. *If the old system of imposing an additional rent on every* *improvement be persevered in, the people will remain for ever poor, and revenue uncertain.*" (Arbuthnot's Memoir and Selections, I, p. 20).

"It seems," says Sir A. Arbuthnot, "almost incomprehensible, but it is the fact, that these wise and statesman-like views were not fully acted on until 1852, more than half a century after this letter was written."

It seems, I remark, "almost incomprehensible, but it is the fact, that these wise and statesman-like views," though accepted, a generation ago, in the so-called benighted Presidency, and afterwards adopted in Bombay, are still ignored in Upper India, and that now, eighty-four years after they were first enunciated, it is still necessary to repeat them, as if they had been announced for the first time the day before yesterday.

In his celebrated minute, dated 1st July 1819 (para. 242) Mr. Holt Mackenzie wrote:—

"Any share in the improvement resulting from expensive works, or the extended culture of the more valuable articles of husbandry, it is not properly in the nature of a land-tax to secure; to such, therefore, the Honourable Court do not, I suppose, look as a means of directly increasing the land-revenue, but will be content to draw thence such an increase to the public resources (in the event of the public exigencies demanding it) as can be done in the way of customs and excise." (Selections from the Revenue Records, N.-W. P., 1818—20, p. 63).

Twenty years later, this principle, then on the point of final acceptance in Madras, had made no way in the North-Western Provinces. The rule given in Mr. Thomason's Directions to Settlement Officers, published in 1849 was, (para 65.) :—"Wherever the value of land has been much raised by the expenditure of capital in providing irrigation, locating labourers, or in other modes, care should be taken, lest by too high an assessment an unfair tax be laid on the profits of the capital, over and above the just rights of the Government to a portion of the net produce of the land."

The utter vagueness of this rule shows plainly that its author had formed no definite idea about taxation of improvements, and that, up to that time, the question had received very little attention in Upper India. In Mr. John Thornton's elaborate eulogy of the Thomasonian system, published in 1849, (*Calcutta Review*, vol. XII, No. XXIV.), the only reference to the question is contained in the casual remark that "justice as well as policy will require that the indefatigable Jât shall not be reduced by disproportionate taxation to the level of the dissolute Gujur."

In 1851 the Court of Directors noticed the subject rather prominently, but with almost equal vagueness, in their Despatch

No. 9, dated 13th August, to the Government of the North-Western Provinces.

They wrote (para 489):—"Another question of importance is, whether an agriculturist, on the renewal of a settlement, should be allowed the full benefit of his improvements, or whether the Government should be held entitled to a share of the additional value which his capital and industry, aided by other circumstances, have added to the land. We are of opinion that the only satisfactory principle on which all future renewals of settlements can be made, will be that reference must be had to the value of the land at the time, a liberal consideration being given for the improvements attributable only to the efforts of the tenant himself, and especially with regard to such as are of a comparatively recent date, and with regard to which he has reaped the advantage only for a short period under the old settlement."

Here the recoupment principle is plainly hinted at; but the basis on which it rests, the steps by which it is reached, and the way in which it is to be applied, are all wanting.

The Saharanpur rules, issued in 1855, are not more explicit. They say (Rule XXXVII):—"In villages the cultivation of which has been much extended since the settlement by the breaking up of new lands, or the percentage of irrigation increased by the sinking of new wells or other improvements, the expenditure of capital must be allowed, and a moderate jumma assessed."

In para 12 of the Gorakhpur instructions, issued in 1856, the recoupment principle is somewhat more plainly affirmed:—"The assessment should be determined. . . . . upon the general principles inculcated in the Saharanpur rules, due advertence being had as well to prospective capabilities as to present assets, *and also to any expenditure of capital by a proprietor for which he may not have had the means of obtaining a fully remunerative return.*"

The Oudh assessment circular of 1860 made no express reference to improvements, but directed observance of the Saharanpur rules generally. But in December 1864 it was notified to Oudh landholders that, at the revision of assessment then going on, no addition would be made to the assessment of lands irrigated from permanent wells, constructed after the date of the intimation, on account merely of the irrigation afforded therefrom. Land irrigated from such wells was ordered to be entered as unirrigated in the survey and settlement papers.

It was further announced, in February 1865, soon after the first Lucknow agricultural exhibition, that land artificially irrigated by means of expensive European machinery, would be rated as unirrigated for the purposes of the settlement then in progress.

In 1870, the publication of some of Mr. Charles Elliott's assessment reports revived the question. It became known that in parganas Shamsabad and Kaimganj of the Farakhabad district, Mr. Elliott had classed as dry, land irrigated from *pakka* wells built within the term of the last settlement.

The *Pioneer* (31st March 1870), promptly attacked Mr. Elliott. It said, "this idea of rewarding zamindars for improvements is novel, and contrary to the principles which have hitherto guided our assessments. We make settlements for long periods with the view to induce landowners to improve their estates and with the hope of getting increased revenue at the end of the period. . . . . . . With the prospect of a three per cent. income-tax before us, we strongly object to throwing away the land-revenue in rewarding landowners for attending to their own interests."

Mr. Elliott effectively defended himself by replying that the wells so treated by him were not "ancient wells, the value of which may be looked upon as pretty well recouped by this time," and that in liberally treating new improvements he was only observing the standing orders of his department, already quoted.

The controversy seems to have attracted the notice of the local Government, for, in December 1870, the settlement officers of the North-Western Provinces were asked for their opinions on the mode of assessing lands irrigated from masonry wells or other works constructed by landlords during the preceding settlement.

Of the twenty settlement officers consulted, not one questioned the right of Government to share, sooner or later, in the increase of assets produced by such improvements. This right was assumed by all to exist, and scarcely any argument was given in support of it. The strength of the presumption arising from the Bombay and Madras practice was not noticed. The conclusion reached was, that no compensation at all was necessary where masonry wells are sunk merely in lieu of *kachha* wells; and that in other cases the recoupment principle should be followed, the improving zamindar being left such a rental from the land improved as would, during the settlement, repay him his outlay with interest.

As already noticed, this recoupment principle was announced in the North-Western Provinces in 1872.

The absence of discussion of the grounds on which this principle is considered fair, is so conspicuous in all Oudh and North-West references to the subject which I have been able to find, that it is necessary to notice here the only arguments to be found in the 1870-72 papers.

One officer considered that a settlement for thirty years was an 'improving lease,' and that the tenant was expected to put the estate into good order.

Now, no one denies that the Thomasonian system of thirty years settlements has had a considerable effect in extending cultivation and introducing more valuable staples. But neither this nor any other kind of improvement is stipulated for. The engagements exchanged between the State and the zamindar do not bind the zamindar to spend one penny in improving the land, or even in keeping it from deterioration. They do not guarantee to him compensation if he improves, or to the State compensation if the land goes out of gear.

The lease has no single feature in common with an ordinary improving lease, except the fact that it runs at a fixed rent for a considerable term. It is true that the talukdari sanads in Oudh contain the stipulation that the talukdar will, to the best of his power, try to promote the agricultural resources of his estate, (Garden of India, p. 203); but the talukdari sanads are title-deeds, not leases, and have nothing whatever to do with the treatment of North-West zamindars by North-West settlement officers. How, again, can a lease be called an improving lease, when, in the terms on which it is granted and periodically renewed, no distinction is made between the improving and non-improving tenant, and when non-improvement by the tenant is the general result, the only other result that is at all distinct being that where the tenant (the zamindar) does improve, he too often does so to his own detriment?

Another officer, with great propriety, likened the improving zamindar's position to that of a managing partner who had improved a joint estate by the outlay of capital. He justly held that the other partner, the State, must of course bear his share of the cost, and that when this share had been paid he was equally entitled to his share of the profit; since he owned a share in the inherent capability of the land for improvement, and thus it would be unreasonable for the managing partner to consider himself entitled to all the profits of the improvements, merely because he had anticipated his partner in developing the resources of the joint estate.

The weak point about this argument is that it is no argument at all. It merely consists of a perfectly appropriate analogy, and of a begging of the only question that is in issue. That question is not whether the State and zamindar are partners, or whether the zamindar should be compensated for his outlay if the State wants to share in the profits, but whether sufficient compensation is paid by the State, when it simply refrains from taking a share of the profits for such number of years as will recoup the outlay, with interest.

Before coming to the equitable aspects of this question, some further indications of the weakness of the recoupment theory may be noticed in addition to those furnished by the presumption arising out of the ultimate triumph of the contrary theory in Madras and Bombay, by the general absence of supporting argument, and the untenableness of such arguments as can be traced.

If the recoupment theory can, in the North-Western Provinces, be fairly applied to the improvements of the State's partner, the zamindar, *a fortiori,* one would suppose, should it be applied to improvements made by the tenants of the joint estate.

But the North-Western Provinces rent-law on this point is in direct conflict with revenue usage. It provides (Act XII of 1881, section 44) that the right of an improving tenant to receive compensation, when ejected, only ceases to exist when the improvement has ceased to increase the annual letting value of the land.

Here the recoupment principle is distinctly ignored. In cases under this section it is only applied when the landlord can show, that, in consideration of the improvement, he has allowed the tenant to hold at a favourable rate of rent. Such allowance is to be taken into account in settling the amount of compensation to be paid. Obviously this sort of recoupment is a very different sort of recoupment from that which obtains in the case of the improving zamindar. The zamindar can, if he likes, annually revise his tenant's rent. The State binds itself not to revise the zamindar's revenue for thirty years. When it fixes the revenue for that period it bases its calculation both on present assets and prospective capabilities (See the Gorakhpur Instructions quoted above).

Whether its zamindar-tenant makes one well or fifty during the thirty years, makes no difference in the revenue payable during that period. The State, then, cannot possibly claim that it has allowed its zamindar-tenant to hold at a favourable rate of rent in consideration of his improvements, and that this allowance should be set off against the compensation which it would otherwise be bound to pay before taking a share of the profits. I say, then, that the North-Western Provinces rent courts have to ignore the recoupment principle, while the revenue officers have to apply it, and that this inconsistency is an indication of its unsoundness.

On this very point there is an inconsistency between the rent-laws of the adjacent provinces of Oudh and the North-West.

The Oudh law assumes that in thirty years a tenant has been completely recouped for his improvements, whether his landlord has, or has not, allowed him to hold at a favourable rate of rent. The North-West law, as we have seen, puts no such limit to the survival of the right to compensation.

A similar inconsistency is to be found in the draft rent bill prepared by the Bengal Rent-law Commission. By Section 22, Clause

(3), an occupancy ryot is permanently secured against enhancement in consequence of increase to the productive powers of his holding caused by his agency or expense. On this point the Commission note in para. 55 of their report:—

"If the" (occupancy) "ryot has improved his holding, has rendered his land more productive by expending his labour or capital upon it, the benefit of the improvement will be his and his alone. Thus the law encourages thrift and industry by guaranteeing the enjoyment of their fruits to the persons who exercise these qualities." Here the recoupment principle is absolutely rejected. But in Section 29, which secures compensation for improvements to an ejected (ordinary) tenant who has held continuously for three or more, but less than twelve, years, the recoupment principle is very distinctly applied. If landlord and tenant do not agree about the terms of compensation, either may move the Civil Court to decide them. Three principles are then laid down for the guidance of the Court in such cases, the first of which, borrowed from the Agricultural Holdings Act (England) of 1875, is:—

"The amount of the ryot's compensation in respect of an improvement shall be the sum laid out by the ryot on the improvement, with a deduction of a proportionate part thereof for each year while the tenancy endures after the year of tenancy in which the outlay is made, and while the improvement continues unexhausted." It is not stated how the 'proportionate part' for each year is to be calculated, nor do the Commission's published proceedings explain why the recoupment principle is adopted in one section and rejected in another.

It is impossible not to feel that a principle which is applied so irregularly and contradicted so constantly cannot be well established.

But the injustice to the zamindars of Upper India is not merely that a principle of imperfect equity is applied to their improvements. It lies also in the fact that, hitherto, the recoupment principle, whether sound or unsound in theory, has been very sparingly acted on in practice. The unfortunate zamindars have not received even the half loaf that, proverbially, is better than no bread. It is not necessary to dwell on this painful fact, but only to prove it. I do so by citing the recently published Settlement Officer's Manual for the North-Western Provinces.

At p. 131 Mr. Vincent Smith says:—"It is to be feared that the instruction of the Directors to refrain from taxing unexhausted improvements has often been lost sight of, and *I cannot find any mention of respect shown for such improvements except in*

Mr. S. M. Moens'. settlement report for Bareilly (p. 156), and Mr. C. A. Elliott's rent-rate reports for Shamsabad East, and Kaimganj in Farakhabad."

And he gives the following quotation from a despatch of the local Government, dated 2nd March 1874:—"This principle of respecting improvements made by the owner has been laid down in theory in the settlement directions for these provinces, and endeavour is no doubt sometimes made to give effect to it in more marked and exceptional cases, *but, as a rule, it is lost sight of, and it is probably impossible under our existing system of settlement to give it anything approaching full effect.*"

(2.) *What are the requirements of equity in the treatment of (Indian) tenants' improvements by landlords, and of (Indian) landlords' improvements by the State?*

The following attempt to define these requirements is offered as a contribution to the subject, needing, probably, much modification before it can be accepted as final or complete.

The right to improve the land, and the duty of improving it, seem to belong to, and rest upon, the same persons, and to devolve together.

Primarily and preferentially it seems to be the right and duty of the owner, that is, the rent-receiver, to improve. When, however, this right and duty are not exercised and discharged in a reasonable time, they seem to devolve upon the tenant, or rent-payer, and to authorise him to claim permission to improve.

Whoever makes improvements, the increased produce resulting therefrom is the outcome of the labour and capital of the improver, and of the inherent qualities of the soil.

As the labour and capital are the property of the improver, whether landlord or tenant, and the inherent qualities of the soil are the property of the landlord, the right to acquire some share of the increased produce resulting from a tenant's improvement equitably accrues to his landlord.

The special function of equity, in this connexion, is to distribute fairly between these two producing causes, the increase effected, and to settle such equitable terms as shall secure to the improving tenant the liberal remuneration of his labour and outlay, without depriving the landlord of the means of acquiring the share due to the inherent qualities of the soil.

The preferential right of the landlord to improve requires that, before the authority applied to permits a tenant to improve, opportunity should be given to the landlord of deciding whether he will exercise his option of making the improvement himself or will join with the tenant in making it, or leave it wholly to him.

The fact that the inherent qualities of the soil which make an improvement possible belong to the landlord, confers on the landlord the right of buying up the tenant's improvement, after a reasonable period, varying with the return to the tenant's outlay yielded by the improvement.

This right, however, does not permanently survive to the landlord. The period when the landlord might equitably exercise this right of purchase, would probably arrive when the aggregate return to outlay amounted to half of the actual outlay, with interest at the rate at which the tenant could have borrowed the capital expended.

The price at which the landlord might purchase should be, as nearly as possible, the sum required at the time of the purchase to construct a similar improvement, in the same locality, yielding the same advantages, in the shape of increased letting value, to an equal area of similar land.

Until this price has been paid, directly or indirectly, the landlord has no right to enhance the tenant's rent on account of any increase to the letting value of his holding caused by the improvement.

When the time for purchase arrives, it is open to the landlord to propose to postpone for a certain period the exercise of his right of purchase, on condition that during such period a portion of the profits of the improvement should be annually set off as the equivalent of an instalment of the purchase-money and of interest on the unpaid instalments.

If the landlord fails either to purchase directly at the proper time, or to arrange for an indirect purchase, the only indulgence that can be shown to him consistently with the paramount necessity of encouraging to the utmost the exercise of thrift, energy, and foresight, is to fix a further period at which it shall be open to him to purchase half the improvement, but after which, if such right of purchase is not exercised, the whole benefit of the improvement shall vest permanently in the tenant.

An improving tenant should always have the power of selling or mortgaging to his landlord his property in his improvement, and of selling it to a tenant coming in in his place. But in the latter case the landlord should have a right of pre-emption.

In India, in the temporarily settled districts, the rights here defined as belonging to the landlord seem to belong half to the zamindar-landlord and half to the State-landlord; and in the ryotwari districts wholly to the State, as regards improvements made by the registered ryots.

There is an essential difference between the rights of the State in respect of improvements made by zamindars, and in respect of those made by ryots; the essence of the difference lying in the fact that the ownership of the inherent qualities of the soil is shared between the State and the zamindar, but does not vest at all in the ryot.

It seems to follow that the State's right, in respect of a zamindar's improvement, can extend only to acquiring, by direct or indirect purchase, one half of such improvement, and that whatever degree of privilege and protection vests in the ryot in respect of his improvements against his landlord, whether zamindar or State, vests *a fortiori*, and to a still greater extent, in the zamindar in respect of his improvements against his co-proprietor, the State.

There is, however, one exception to this stronger position of the zamindar, and that is, that on the principle of *nullum tempus occurrit regi*, the public interests require that it should be open to the State at any period to acquire by purchase the whole of a ryot's improvement, or the half of a zamindar's improvement.

The right and duty of improving the land in India are shared, in the temporarily settled districts, between the State and the zamindar.

The right of improving does not devolve on the ryot until both of his landlords, the zamindar and the State, have failed to improve.

(3). *Is the standard thus set up satisfied by the non-taxation principle as applied in Bombay and Madras, and by the recoupment principle as applied in the North-West Provinces, Oudh, and the Punjab?*

As, in the ryotwari districts of Madras and Bombay, the Government fails to exercise its right of purchase, whether direct or indirect, of the ryot's improvements, and abstains, at all events in theory, from encroaching on assets produced by such improvements, it seems that equity is satisfied as regards the ryot, but that the legitimate development of the revenue, and the interests of the general tax-payer, are seriously neglected. I here refer to the principles professed, not to the way in which they may be applied in practice.

It must be left to observers in these Presidencies to say whether the principle of non-taxation of improvements is strictly enforced. In at least one Madras district this does not seem to have been the case. Mr. Phillips says:—"The Bellary district is one that, above all others, requires wells. What is the reason of their non-existence, or their comparative scarcity? The main reason is probably the following, that formerly land irrigated by private wells was assessed as wet land. Here was an incentive to enterprise and energy, here a stimulus to improved cultivation! . . . . . What object was there for a ryot to dig a well when he knew his assessment would be at once quadrupled or multiplied even ten-fold? No wonder that Mr. Ballard, Madras member of the Famine Commission, should have had lately to call upon the Collector of Bellary to report why in F. 1281 (1874) there were only 12,331 wells in the Bellary district as against 16,252 in F. 1262 (1855). . . . We believe it is comparatively recently that land irrigated by private wells was reduced to the highest dry assessment of the village in which they were situated, provided that this was not less than one rupee. This relaxation of the former prohibitive rule has not yet had time to show its good effects, especially as bad seasons have lately preponderated. . . . . For purposes of irrigation each taluq requires at least five thousand wells. It is to be hoped that under the more favourable rule, and after the clearing off of debts incurred during the famine, the cultivators may be induced to turn their attention in this direction. But the new rule, though an improvement, is not yet what it should be. For new wells, not a pice of extra assesment should be imposed, much less the highest assessment for dry land. The Bombay Government are fully alive to the importance of this." (A Blacker Pamphlet; 1878, page 19).

I borrow from Mr. Phillips' pamphlet (page 20) his citation of the Bombay orders on this subject, as they show that the interests of the State are being sacrificed because, in Bombay, it is not seen that the State rights in the inherent water-bearing properties of the soil, and consequent right to acquire some of the profits of improvements which bring those properties into use, might be easily and equitably enforced by the direct or indirect purchase of the ryot's wells after a reasonable period.

These orders are:—

"That in the case of old wells constructed before the first settlement, all special water assessment should be abandoned, and the maximum jerayet (dry) rate alone levied.

"That in the case of new wells constructed subsequent to the first settlement, the ordinary dry crop-rate should be imposed without any addition whatever on account of the new wells." (G. R. No. 1,028, February 25th, 1874.)

"A maximum jerayet (dry) rate should clearly not be imposed in cases where a well has been constructed since the introduction of the survey, and where that alone, and not the actual quality of the soil, warrants the imposition. To do so would in effect be to tax improvements made during the currency of a settlement, and would be in contravention of Section 30 of the Survey Act. *The only principle on which such a proceeding would be justifiable would be in consideration of the water-bearing properties of the soil.* But the Survey officers have admitted their inability to act on this principle generally, and the result of the proposed system would be to tax the man whose enterprise and labour have induced him to sink a well, while his neighbour, whose land may possess precisely the same properties, escapes the extra burden, simply because he has not availed himself of his opportunities." (G. R. No. 4,050, August 22nd, 1871).

In comparing the recoupment principle with the suggested equitable standard the question whether the principle is actually applied need not again be raised. The issue at this point for decision is whether, if applied, it compensates zamindar and tenant to the extent that equity seems to require.

Equity, as we have seen, seems to demand for a ryot's improvement:—

(1) The untaxed enjoyment by him of the whole profits for a reasonable period, extending, the writer suggests, till half of the outlay has been recouped with interest;

(2) The payment to him, either directly or indirectly, of the sum required to make the improvement as it stands at the time of purchase;

(3) When indirect purchase is resorted to, an express contract between landlord and tenant as to the terms and period of repayment;

(4) The postponement until the purchase has been completed, of any enhancement on account of increase to letting value caused by the improvement;

(5) The fixation of a further reasonable period at which, by paying half the cost, the landlord might acquire half the ryot's property in the improvement, but after which, if such acquisition did not take place, the whole property in the improvement would vest absolutely in the ryot;

(6) The right to sell or mortgage the improvement to the landlord, and to sell it to an incoming tenant, pre-emption being reserved to the landlord.

To zamindars' improvements the fifth of these stipulations would not apply, but

(7) The superior landlord's right of acquisition would extend to only half the improvement.

Under the recoupment principle, as applied to zamindars improvements, the first and third of these requirements are not satisfied. There is, as yet, no such thing as the dircet form of purchase, required by the second stipulation. Either the indirect form of purchase is presumed to take place in ten or twenty years as in the Panjaub, or the period during which it may be presumed to have taken place is to be calculated by the intelligent discretion of the settlement officer, as in the North-Western Provinces. No sort of precise provision is made as to what will be considered reasonable interest, or as to allowances for cost of maintenance, or average rate of profit to be presumed. Consequently the zamindars are quite in the dark as to the way in which the settlement officer of the future will deal with their improvements, and confidence is not inspired.

Whether the fourth requirement is satisfied will depend, in Oudh and the North-West Provinces, on the degree of intelligence that accompanies the settlement officer's discretion, and on the accuracy with which he collects the necessary data. In the Panjaub, the hit-or-miss twenty years rule can very rarely hit the precise period at which the indirect form of payment has been fully made. In most cases the true mark must be missed, and too little compensation given, or too much.

It is difficult to account for the acceptance of the recoupment principle, as applied in Upper India, except by supposing that the local Governments, when dealing with the subject, forgot the true economic analysis of profits on the outlay of capital; over-estimated the gains, and under-rated the losses, the risks, and the costs of maintenance of works of improvements; and measured their treatment of the question less by the high standard of western equity than by the lower criterion furnished by the practice of past native Governments.

It does not seem to have been remembered that an 'improving' zamindar not only furnishes the capital, but superintends its employment, and runs whatever risk there may be of losing it.

"The remuneration which is obtained in any country for mere abstinence, is measured by the current rate of interest on the best security, such security as precludes any appreciable chance of losing the principal. What a person expects to gain, who superintends the employment of his own capital, is always more, and generally much more, than this. The rate of profit greatly exceeds the rate of interest. The surplus is partly compensation for risk. By lending his capital, on unexceptionable security, he runs little or no risk. But if he embarks in business on his own account, he always exposes his capital to some, and in many cases to very great, danger of partial or total loss. For this danger he must be compensated, otherwise he will not incur it. He must likewise be remunerated for the devotion of his time and labour. ... The gross profits from capital, the gains returned to those who supply the funds for production, must suffice for these three purposes. They must afford a sufficient equivalent for abstinence, indemnity for risk, and remuneration for the labour and skill required for superintendence. .... The three parts into which profit may be considered as resolving itself, may be described respectively as interest, insurance, and wages of superintendence."—(Principles of Political Economy, Book II, Ch. XV, Section I).

This canon is the justification of my suggestion that improvements should be wholly untaxed, and wholly free from the landlord's right of acquisition, until the aggregate profits have amounted to half the outlay, *plus* interest.

The omission to allow for insurance and wages of superintendence is the chief flaw in the recoupment principle as applied in Upper India, and, apparently, in England also, under the Agricultural Holdings Act (Cap: 92, Sec. 7).

Imperfect emancipation from the 'damnosa hereditas' of extortionate practice bequeathed by the displaced native Governments, accounts, probably, for some part of the want of sensitiveness to equity of which I complain. The emancipation already achieved has been so extensive, that the nooks and corners into which it has still to be carried escape notice.

Narcissus-like, the founders of the Thomasonian school seem to have been so fascinated with the charms of their own symmetrical measures, as to have sunk into forgetfulness of their possible defects. The thirty years settlements are models of moderation when contrasted with the revenue systems of the later Moghal empire. But they are not perfection. Some relics of the evil 'old system of imposing an additional rent on every improvement,'—inveighed against by Munro in 1797,—still survive in 1882. It is surely time now that they should be swept utterly away.

The extent to which the existing protection to tenants, improvements, where the recoupment principle is applied, falls short of the apparent demands of equity, varies considerably in the different provinces.

In Oudh, the thirty years' limit in bar of compensation, is objectionable, not because this period, in a great number of cases, may not be enough to adequately compensate the tenant, but because it would be insufficient in some cases, and chiefly because it is accompanied by no such provisions as would afford complete security to the tenant that the period would be extended when insufficient, and to the landlord that the full, fair compensation, and no more, would be payable by him when seeking to enhance or eject. In other words, the rule may secure the first and second requirements, but there is no certainty that it will do so, and no demonstration to the tenant that it will do so.

The express contract constituting the third requirement is not stipulated for. The fourth requirement, like the first and second, may or may not be satisfied. The absence of the fifth requirement combined with the absence of the third, deprives the tenant of the privilege of acquiring a permanent property in the improvement by the landlord's failure to purchase, or to contract for indirect purchase, at the proper time. Thus the stimulus to the tenant is weakened, and an undesirable inducement is given to an indolent landlord to abstain from taking any active share in improvements.

The Punjab rule only differs from the Oudh rule in making the improvements of a tenant-at-will lapse, at his death, to his landlord. It does this by substituting the words "any tenant, or, *in the case of a tenant with a right of occupancy*, the person from whom he has inherited" for the words of the Oudh Rent Act, "any tenant, or the person from whom he has inherited."

This rule of lapse seems to be a pernicious curtailment of the tenant's right, directly opposed to the principle of security.

The rule in the North-Western Provinces is superior to that in the Punjab and Oudh, since it discards the recoupment principle, and the assumption that complete recoupment takes place in thirty years. But it is inferior to the rule in those provinces in failing to forbid enhancement, as well as ejectment, until compensation has been paid. In common with the rule of Oudh and the Punjab, it provides for indirect payment by a beneficial lease on permission to hold at a favourable rate, but fails to require such holding to be arranged for at a particular period, or to provide for lapse to the tenant if the landlord allows the proper period to pass.

It allows sale of a tenant's holding to convey to the in-comer the outgoing tenant's property in his improvement, but reserves no right of pre-emption of the improvement to the landlord.

The draft bill of the Bengal Rent Commission, already noticed, goes beyond the requirements of equity in favour of the occupancy-ryot, and is, therefore, unfair to the landlord. On the other hand, in the case of ordinary tenants, by proposing to deduct part of the amount due for compensation for each year from the beginning of the tenancy, it infringes the first requirement. It provides no right of lapse to the tenant. It justly requires that any sum necessary to put the improvement into good repair, should be taken into consideration, and also any deterioration of the holding caused by the act of the ryot. It allows no compensation for improvements by ryots who have held for less than three years continuously. Why this exception is made is not apparent. The sections, as drafted, make improvements lapse to the landlord on a tenant's death, since the words, common to the other Acts, are omitted:—"or the person from whom he has inherited." I do not think that this omission can be intentional; it is so inconsistent with the general tenor of the Commission's recommendations.

The draft tenancy bill for the Central Provinces (sections 39 to 44) goes further than the rent law in other provinces, in the direction of reducing the area of dispute between landlord and tenant. It presumes a preferential right on the part of landlords to improve, except as regards the holdings of occupancy-tenants. *It contemplates the issue of rules prescribing how ordinary tenants wishing to improve are to give notice to their landlords, and fixing the period within which the landlord's preferential right may be exercised.* It precludes an ejected tenant from receiving compensation when the improvement has been made on the landlord's home-farm (*sir*) without the landlord's express consent; when made without due notice, or before the expiry of the time allowed for exercise of the landlord's preferential right; or when made under a contract binding him not to claim compensation. And the tenant is deprived of the power of contracting himself, in future, out of the protective scope of the Act.

These provisions are, I think, distinctly in advance of the law of the North-Western Provinces, the Punjab, and Oudh, and of the draft bill for Bengal.

(4.) The Famine Commission's analysis of the causes of the failure of the Land Improvement Act omits also to notice *the friction between landlord and tenant produced by the absence of definite equitable rules regulating their respective rights about improvements.*

In the North-Western Provinces, the want, I believe, is much felt of some speedy, cheap, and simple procedure for enhancing rents on lands improved by the owner. A landlord wishing to improve is deterred by the certainty that he will have extreme difficulty in securing for himself the increased produce resulting from the improvement, as well as by the uncertainty as to how it will be treated at the next revision of assessment.

In Oudh it is a matter of daily experience that the compensation sections of the Rent Act have led landholders, as a rule, to refuse permission to a tenant to improve, until he has agreed in writing never to claim compensation. This unpleasant result is not all the fault of the landlords by any means. It is chiefly attributable to the immoderate awards for compensation which are apt to be given when a Rent Court relies on a local enquiry by commission, and is unable to inspect the improvement itself. In the Rae Bareli district the extraordinary ease with which both rent and revenue are collected is a proof that general friction between landlord and tenant is exceptionally slight. But I can state from personal experience that even here infinite harm is being done by the unsatisfactory state of the law about improvements, infinite delay incurred in protecting from drought a tract specially exposed to its attacks.

In January last an anonymous correspondent, professing to be neither a resident nor a tenant of the district, assured me that but for the obstacles thrown in their way by the landholders, most of the tenants could and would provide irrigation for their holdings. In particular, he said, numbers of the *kachha* wells made during the drought of 1880 would be converted into masonry wells, if only the landlord's opposition could be prevented. District officers are not in the habit of attending to anonymous communications, but I confess that this one made a considerable impression on me. Its truth is strikingly confirmed by the fact that, where the obstacle referred to is removed, the tenants do improve on a large scale. I give one or two instances. The Estates Officer of Rae Bareli, Mr. W. Blennerhassett, has devised very successful means for encouraging tenants to improve. A tenant wishing to make a masonry well is assisted, partly with materials, partly with a cash contribution, partly with a loan free of interest; sometimes with the grant of a small plot of ground to plant a grove on. And, when desired, a guarantee is given, protecting the tenant from enhancement for a considerable period. That the terms given are thought equitable, and that tenants will improve actively when fairly treated, is, I think, shown by the result. During the year ending 30th September 1881, 458 masonry wells were made by tenants on these terms in the estates under Mr. Blennerhassett's management.

The essence of his method is that it settles the compensation difficulty at the time when it can be settled most easily. The tenant receives compensation that satisfies him at the time the well is made, and, in return, readily renounces all claim to compensation in the future. The example is one that will, I hope, be widely followed. I can say this with perfect freedom, because this good work has been wholly devised and carried through by Mr. Blennerhassett and the managers under him.

In the same district (Rae Bareli) Raja Jag Mohan Singh of Chandapur applies the same principle. He gives to an improving tenant a rent-free plot on which to plant a small grove. This form of compensation is greatly liked by Hindus, to whom, as Mr. Benett told us the other day, the planting of a tree is a duty only less sacred than the procreation of a son and the digging of a well. During the last two years Raja Jag Mohan Singh's tenants have built 110 masonry wells. Rana Shankar Baksh, (the Vice-president of the Talukdar's Association) is working the same plan on his fine estate. These gentlemen represent that the extension of tenants' improvements by this means would be greatly facilitated if the landlords' conveyances of the rent-free grants, and the tenants' agreements, waiving claims to future compensation, could be exempted from the troublesome and expensive requirements of the Registration and Stamp Acts. Other good landlords in this peaceful district,—an Arcadia of happy memories to all who have served in it,—are doing well in this matter. The Rani of Tiloi has helped her tenants to make 94 masonry wells, and Lal Jung Bahadur Singh of Siwan has helped his people to make forty two.

Want of space alone prevents me from carrying further the demonstration, that friction between landlord and tenant, caused by the absence of clear and equitable definition of their respective rights, and of simple procedure for carrying their rights into effect, is a potent obstacle to progress in land improvement in India.

(5.) Another of the causes of failure, not noticed by the Famine Commission, is *the disinclination to improve, arising from the greater lucrativeness of money-lending as an investment.*

The average return to outlay on ordinary improvements, such as wells, is probably about ten per cent This, though a splendid investment to the European mind, bears a very different aspect to the zamindar, who sees the money-lender getting twenty-four per cent. and more. As Mr. Irwin says, ("Garden of India," p. 315) :—"The few small farmers who have a little spare cash do not apply it to the soil, but lend it to their poorer neighbours . . . . at 24 or 36 per cent. interest, which undoubtedly, as far as they are concerned, is a more profitable investment." Where mere money-making is the object, an investment in improvements is a very feeble attraction. Where the ruling passion is the more general and more reputable love of land, a mortgage on Naboth's vineyard is infinitely more tempting than a *pakka* well on the home farm.

The axe will be effectively laid to the roots of this obstacle whenever the problem is solved of bringing capital, borrowed by the State at English rates of interest, to the assistance of the rural classes, whether landlords or tenants.

For the direct effect of such application, on any large scale, must be to bring down the present usurious rates very considerably.

The influence of the Government might further be effectually wielded by taking very much more trouble than is possible under the present Jack-of-all-trades system of district administration, to implant in the minds of landowners a strong sense of their duty to improve. When things are made distinctly pleasant for the landowner who protects his estate from drought, and distinctly unpleasant for the Shylocks and Bassanios who neglect this duty for usury or extravagance, a quantity of capital will be poured into the land, which at present circulates in much less wholesome channels. The requisite fulcrum for leverage of this kind might be got by inserting in the engagements taken at all future settlements, clauses binding the landowners to satisfy the Government from time to time that they are developing the agricultural resources of their estates and protecting them from drought, to a reasonable extent, and binding the Government to treat the improvements made liberally and equitably, the terms being definitely specified.

(6.) Lastly, the Famine Commission have overlooked *the extent to which the failure to improve is traceable to the neglect of the chief landlord, the State, to take any active share in ordinary village improvements.*

Every body knows, though no one acts as if he knew it, that in India the State is the chief landlord. In the ryotwari districts it is, practically, the sole landlord.

As remarked by Sir John Strachey in the Legislative Council in January 1871, when introducing the Land Improvement Bill, "the Government of India was not only a Government, but the receiver, as the representative of the public, of that portion of the rent of the land which had belonged from time immemorial to the State; *and in its capacity of chief landlord of the country, duties devolved on the Government for the improvement of the land and for the advancement generally of agriculture, beyond the ordinary duties of a Government, and similar in kind to those duties which a good landlord had everywhere to perform.*"

In the despatch describing the nature of the Bill to the Secretary of State, Lord Mayo wrote:—

"There is perhaps, no country in the world in which the State has so immediate and direct an interest in such (agricultural) questions. The Government of India is not only a Government but a chief landlord. The land-revenue, which yields twenty millions of her annual income, is derived from that proportion of the rent which belongs to the State, and not to individual proprietors.

Throughout the greater part of India every measure for the improvement of the land enhances the value of the property of the State. The duties which in England are performed by a good landlord, fall in India, in a great measure, upon the Government. Speaking generally, the only Indian landlord who can command the requisite knowledge and capital is the State. The Government has always, at least by its legislation, recognised the duty." (Hunter's Life of Lord Mayo, II, p. 322).

What the Government of Lord Mayo seems to have failed to see fully, and what has not been fully seen yet, is that the duties of a good landlord are not discharged by simply opening a land improvement loan business by which a few thousand rupees are now and then advanced at remunerative interest, on the best possible security, not only without the smallest risk of loss, but with the certainty, as matters have hitherto been administered, that the State itself will reap some of the direct profits of the capital thus put into the land, as well as the indirect profits by insurance against drought.

The Government of India is justly proud of its achievements in canal-making. But what do these achievements amount to? The first of the canals, the Delhi branch of the Western Jumna Canal, was opened sixty-two years ago, in 1820. "The capital expenditure on all the irrigation works in British India at the end of the year 1879-80 is stated to have been £20,298,800." (Famine Commission Report, II, p. 154.) That is, in all these years, the good landlord's aggregate expenditure on works of irrigation, to which "among the means that may be adopted for giving India direct protection from famine arising from drought, the first place must unquestionably be assigned," has actually amounted to one year's rental.

And this phenomenon has occurred in an estate on which four-fifths of the cultivated area is to this day unirrigated; where, in the enormous tracts represented by the North-Western Provinces, Madras, Bombay, Oudh, the Punjab, and Sindh, two-thirds of the cultivated area are more or less liable to drought, and require to be protected; and where the average difference in the State rental from irrigated and unirrigated land is as the difference between sixteen and five. (India in 1880, p. 230).

In the ryotwari districts of Madras only one quarter of the cultivated area is protected by irrigation. The State is there the sole landlord. It has occupied that position for more than eighty years. In all that time it has protected, by Government irrigation works, only two-sevenths of this quarter, or less than one-ninth of the cultivated area.

It is not surprising that so little is accomplished under existing systems. In Bengal the permanent settlement debars the State from making improvements from which it could reap no direct fruit. In the ryotwari districts it has been hoped that the non-taxation of improvements would induce the ryots to improve. In the temporarily settled provinces it has been hoped that the magic of property, as represented by thirty years settlements, would secure progress. In such vain expectations the duty of the good landlord, so far as irrigation works other than canals are concerned, seems to have been absolutely neglected in Northern India, and very seriously neglected in Southern and Western India. The district officer, the representative of the good landlord, is naturally not master of this branch of his business, since, though he is Jack of a good many other trades, this one is left out of the list.

The Government orders, at all events in Northern India, are almost, if not wholly, silent about this sphere of duty. The energies and intellects of the district officers are frittered away on all sorts of fatuous little trifles that clothe no backs and fill no bellies. The one paramount duty in India,—to "draw out thy soul to the hungry, and satisfy the afflicted soul,"—the duty which outweighs almost all the rest in force of direct effect on the happiness or misery of the people, is not practised. It is not even preached.

This neglect is bearing evil fruit. Not only is progress not secured; deterioration is not prevented. I give one or two instances. In Barabanki (Oudh):—

"The universal cry was one of uniform decay, bad crops, and rack-rents . . . . A mile south of Fatehpur, one Raja Gobardhan dug a great tank. . . . . An expenditure of Rs. 50 upon earthwork would have filled up the breach, but there are joint owners deeply in debt and quarrelling; consequently a great and picturesque public work is useless. Crops all around it were dying from want of water, and beneath its massive rampart the peasants were laboriously raising a scanty and costly supply of water with the primitive levers and the fragile pitcher. Just as the builder . . . left it unfinished two hundred years ago, so it is now. So rarely in the course of the centuries does an energetic and enterprising landowner come forward. *Hundreds of other tanks, which the industry of ancient times provided, are allowed to silt up,* although a little expenditure of labour in carrying away the deposit to the fields would be doubly repaid by the excellent manure so afforded, and the increased capacity of the basin for storage of water. But the tenants will not labour to improve fields from which they can be ejected whenever the spring crop has been reaped." (Oudh Gazetter, I, p. 239). In Fyzabad, "the evidences of poverty, everywhere apparent, are ruined wells which the people have not means to repair, far less to build new ones. The artificial tanks are now generally in a sad state of disrepair. A very little labour would restore hundreds of these tanks to their former usefulness." (Ibid. I, p. 428).

In Madras "there is a general consent that the measures now adopted for the maintenance of the tanks in efficiency are wholly inadequate." (Famine Commission Report, II, p. 163.) In Bellary, as noted above, in nineteen years the number of wells in use diminished by twenty-four per cent.

I believe such instances to be the rule, not the exception.

As long as this state of things continues, the British administration of India exposes itself to the charge that it neglects one of its gravest and most obvious duties. The chief landlord of an enormous country, in which four-fifths of the people are closely connected with the soil, and stand in urgent need of their landlord's active help, it not only leaves the resources of the estate undeveloped to an extent that is not justified by any narrowness of its own means for developing them, but fails even to check deterioration, or to give to its co-proprietors and tenants adequate inducements to do their share and its own of the work. The conclusion seems to be very plainly indicated that until the State landlord puts his own shoulder to the wheel of rural progress, it will still stick fast in the mire of apathy, mistrust, and indebtedness. The joint estate will still lie unimproved and unsecured. Debt and despair will still destroy the happiness of the landowners. The ryot will groan and travail as now, undelivered from the bondage of usury, unsaved from the maw of famine.

The State itself will continue to be periodically driven into unpleasant courses, here kindling disaffection by objectionable taxation, there throwing away the confidence of its landowners and the loyalty of its servants by doubtful dealings with pledges and privileges.

Some day all this will be changed. The seed that Lord Mayo began to sow will be sown again, and will yield a glorious harvest. The duties of a good landlord will at last begin to be discharged. Some man, some Henry Lawrence or Mayo, 'with heart, head, hand, like some of the simple great ones gone,' will yet be given to India, 'to scatter plenty o'er a smiling land, and read his history in a nation's eyes.' A fame nobler than the fame of Clive and Wellesley awaits that Viceroy of the future who shall undo the heavy burdens of the ryot, and break the yoke of the usurer, and fill the hungry with good things; who shall repair the breach, and build the old waste places, and be to India "as rivers of water in a dry place, as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land."

Having now tried to make more complete the Famine Commission's analysis of the failure of the Land Improvement Act, it remains to suggest some of the means, other than those already mentioned, by which this failure may be changed into success.

The key to the position seems to lie in setting free to the fullest possible extent the 'improving' energies of the zamindar and the ryot, first by securing to them absolutely whatever share in the profits of, or whatever compensation for, their outlay, may be prescribed by equity; next, by convincing them of the purity of the State's intentions, and gaining their real confidence; and, lastly, by so dividing the joint enterprise between State, zamindar and ryot as to get from each the greatest amount of that sort of working force which he can most cheaply and effectively supply. The State has, in the greatest abundance, all that the ryot and the zamindar lack,—unlimited command of capital at four per cent. or less; ready access to the highest engineering skill; a staff of servants endowed to the full with the Englishman's birthright of energy, resource, delight in enterprise, disgust at failure. On their part the zamindar and the ryot have all the knowledge and skill required for ordinary works, command of materials and labour at the cheapest rates, unwearying patience and industry, and admirable facilities both for supervising construction and for arranging the details of the fair development of rental.

The first thing to be done is to settle the requirements of equity as to profits and compensation. About this matter suggestions have already been offered. The next, to insert corresponding stipulations in the engagements taken from revenue-payers, and in the revenue laws, and to recast the improvements sections of the various Rent Acts. These changes in the revenue and rent laws should include provisions for the adjustment by courts or officers of disputes about improvements between landlord and tenant, and also some such concrete guarantee as the giving of a certificate to improving zamindars and ryots for every improvement made by them after a specified date. Having thus begun to establish confidence and to reduce friction, and by these means to set free such energy as ryot and zamindar can exert without further help from the State than is represented by advances under the Land Improvement Act, and by aid in the adjustment of disputes, the next step should be to map out and measure the work to be done with the view of ascertaining the extent to which the State must itself actively co-operate.

The field to be worked over is an enormous one. But, as the fairy says in Phantastes, "size is nothing, it is a mere matter of relation." In relation to the vastness of the interests at stake, and to the splendid administrative strength at the Government's command, the extent of the area to be examined is not formidable, nor are the difficulties of thoroughly dealing with it really serious. Time and method and the command of the services of expert land-agents are all that is wanted for getting at the requirements of any individual estate anywhere. Time and method and the services of experts on a scale sufficiently developed are all that is wanted for getting at the requirements of the great congeries of separate landed estates which constitute British India.

Some of the data for roughly computing the dimensions of the work to be done, may be gathered from the Famine Commission Report (II, pp. 71 to 77, 86 and 90). The area ordinarily cultivated is returned at 194,950,500 acres, of which 167,950,000 acres are under food crops, and 27,000,500 acres are under 'non-food' crops. The Famine Commission believe that, of the area under food crops, 102,350,000 acres, or sixty per cent., require to be protected from drought.

It is, I think, reasonable to assume that on the non-food crop area the same proportion of protected to unprotected cultivation subsists as on the food crop area. On this assumption sixty per cent, or 116,970,300 acres, out of the whole area ordinarily cultivated, require protection.

But the whole of this area does not, at all events at present, urgently call for State inspection. In Bengal, excepting Orissa, the Permanent Settlement relieves the State from the duty of prosecuting land improvement on the same principles as elsewhere. In the Central Provinces and Burmah irrigation is said to be not required as a protection against drought. In Berar the fact that the revenues are not retained by the British Government makes its duty in this connexion less pressing than in other provinces. For the purpose of the present suggestions the Famine Commission's data will be reviewed only so far as they relate to Madras, Bombay, Sindh, the North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Punjab. In these six provinces the area ordinarily cultivated is 115,750,000 acres. Twenty-three per cent. of this, or 26,550,000 acres, is believed to be the area ordinarily irrigated. Of the portion under food crops, sixty-seven per cent. is considered to require protection. Applying this percentage to the whole area ordinarily under cultivation, the total extent of cultivation requiring protection would be 77,552,500 acres, in a hundred and twenty-two districts, at a general average of 635,676 acres in each.

Besides this magnificent field for the joint enterprise of State, zamindar, and ryot, there is the further scope for improvement represented by the thirty-three per cent. of cultivation, or 38,197,500 acres (about 313,094 acres per district) considered to be fairly protected from drought, but much of which has artificial irrigation from ponds, tanks, or rivers, of a kind less reliable than that afforded by canals and wells. Lastly, there is an enormous culturable area, amounting in five of these provinces to 62,464,000 acres (or about 524,907 acres in each of 119 districts), besides "large areas" in Sindh, which "could also be brought under cultivation if the means of irrigation were provided."

Of course, a great deal of this culturable area is either very poor land, or is required for pasture and fuel preserves, but a great deal of it, possibly a third, would repay the cost of irrigation and tillage. For instance, in Sindh, "there are millions of acres suitable for wheat, and there is no reason why Sindh should not become one of the great wheat-supplying countries. Having the Indus alongside, it would be free of the railway carriage that handicaps Northern India. There are no engineering difficulties; and General Strachey, reporting on the subject in 1868, shows that the State might expend six to ten millions with a certain return of eight to fourteen per cent." (*Calcutta Review*, January 1881, p. 107). In the plains of Hissar, also, considerable areas, though not so large as in Sindh, could be cultivated if irrigation were provided. "In the Multan Division some nine million of acres of fairly fertile soil are ready for cultivation if only water can be given to them." In Bombay, "there is ample margin for the extension of cultivation," but it does not consist of good land. (Famine Commission Report II, p. 76.)

My remaining suggestions will be confined to the first of these three areas; that is, to the seventy-seven and a half millions of cultivated acres in the six provinces, believed to need protection from drought, and averaging, roughly, 635,676 acres in each of a hundred and twenty-two districts. An officer might be deputed in these provinces to collect from the settlement reports, gazetteers, and other sources, such recorded facts about the irrigation in them as would show how far the unirrigated area can be classified as irrigable or unirrigable at a remunerative cost, or as hopelessly unirrigable, and as regards the area believed to be irrigable, how far it is believed to be irrigable by the various kinds of wells, or by tanks, or canals, embankments, or other works.

Probably enough information is already on record for most districts, to show plainly which kind of irrigation seems to be indicated for each considerable tract, and the Government could thus obtain a fairly accurate idea of the broad divisions into which the work of dealing with the 77½ millions of acres would fall.

Next, there might be prepared for each revenue division an irrigation report, based on existing records and maps, and illustrated by hydrographic charts on the scale of one inch to the mile. From the atlas sheets of the Revenue Survey, already drawn on this scale, the Surveyor-General could probably easily supply skeleton district maps, showing the names of villages (*mauzahs* only, not hamlets) their boundaries, the village sites, roads, tanks, swamps, lakes, streams, rivers, and ravines. As soon as such maps were furnished to a district, an irrigation officer might be deputed to it to procure, with the district officer's help, the necessary irrigational details; to note them, on some uniform principle, and for each village, on the skeleton map, and to prepare from these data the hydrographic chart and irrigation report.

Such facts would be shown as the depth to which wells have to be sunk; the different kinds of well in use; and their average cost in different localities; the average area which each kind can irrigate thoroughly, and the further area which they can protect when necessary; the nature and extent of irrigation from rivers, canals, lakes, tanks, or other sources; the unprotected areas, with details as to the practicability of protecting them, and the kind of works considered appropriate, with rough estimates of their probable number and cost; the areas considered unirrigable, either absolutely, or relatively in view of the disproportion between probable cost and probable return.

I do not know how the case may be elsewhere, but am confident that in many districts of the North-West Provinces and Oudh such charts and reports could be compiled far more cheaply, and quickly than might be supposed, and at a cost quite trifling when compared with the value of the result. I assume, of course, that the work would be made over to specially qualified officers, above the ordinary 'strength' of the district, and not thrown upon establishments already overburdened.

With this information before them for a district or division, the district officers, the Commissioner, and the local Government should be able to decide, once for all, what tracts must be left unprotected as far as irrigation works are concerned, and, of the rest, what areas should be reserved for protection by canals or other large works of a kind that could not be constructed either by the zamindars and ryots, or by the district officers, or by all of them working together.

Things would now have reached this stage. The unprotected area in each district, roughly averaging 635,676 acres, will have been divided into three parts; the area to be left alone; the area to be protected by special State works; and the area to be dealt with by the ryots, zamindars, and district officers.

For purposes of illustration, let it be assumed that these areas will be found to be respectively, one quarter to be left alone, one quarter to be attacked by special State works, and one-half to be protected by the district officers, zamindars and ryots.

On this assumption, the scope for special State works would be one-fourth of 77½ million acres, or 19,375,000 acres. This assumed area is eleven times the area actually irrigated in 1878-79, from the State irrigation works of the North-West Provinces alone. (Famine Commission Report, II, p. 149). The 'productive capital outlay' on these works amounted, by that year, to £4,462,000 or £2. 11*s.* 4*d.* (above thirty rupees) per acre irrigated, and the net profits were 8·6 per cent. of the outlay.—*(Ibid.)*

At this rate, the protection of the 19,375,000 acres would cost fifty millions (£49,729,167). Spread over thirty years, the enterprise would represent an annual capital outlay of £1,666,666 in a hundred and twenty-two districts. Distributed as the undertaking would be over six provinces, and controlled by four separate administrations, it does not seem to be at all too much to attempt.

The assumed area to be protected by ordinary works made by the joint or separate enterprise of zamindars, ryots, and district officers, is 38¾ million acres, or on a rough average about 317,623 acres to each of the hundred and twenty-two districts.

If it were resolved to spread this enterprise also over thirty years, the work to be done in each of the districts in each of those years would be to get minor irrigation works constructed capable of protecting 10,588 acres.

For the purpose of illustration, I take the probable cost of protection by such works at two-thirds the cost of protection by the North-Western Provinces canals, that is, at twenty rupees per acre. At this rate the average annual outlay in each district would be (10,588 × 20 =) Rs. 2,11,760. Taking a masonry well costing Rs. 200, and protecting ten acres, as a fair type of minor irrigation works, 1,058 of such wells or works would on an average have to be annually constructed in each of the districts in each of the thirty years. And, as (Imperial Gazetteer, iv, p. 705) the six provinces contain 233,281 villages, or an average of 1,912 villages per district, the enterprise would amount to little more than getting one such well or work made in the year in every second village, or ten in each of 106 villages.

How this will strike other people I do not know, but it seems to me a perfectly manageable enterprise, requiring no very serious addition to existing establishments to carry it out.

It is not, however, at all necessary to show that no considerable increase of establishments will be wanted. For the proposed works would be directly remunerative, and would yield, probably, about ten per cent. on the outlay. Such minor works rarely occupy, in construction, more than a few months.

A charge of five per cent. on a year's outlay in a district would yield (Rs. 2,11,760 ÷ 20 =) Rs. 10,588. This would give Rs. 1,323 a month for eight months of the year. I believe that this would be more than enough. If so, then the cost of extra establishments to work the scheme, in the construction branch of it, would not exceed half of one year's profits.

Some such effort as is here outlined seems to be the very least that the Government should attempt. The ultimate aim should be to achieve a great deal more than this.

The experience gained in working the scheme would show whether the following business might not gradually be taken in hand:—

A complete inspection of the whole cultivated and culturable area of the temporarily settled and ryotwari districts; the ascertainment and record of—(1) the extent to which in every village its cultivated, and culturable area requires and admits of protection and improvement by the application of capital in simple ways; (2) the nature of the works required to be made, restored, or improved; (3) the probable cost of making, restoring, or improving them; (4) the probable increase to produce and letting value to be got by making the works; (5) the probable average annual deductions to be set aside for repairs and maintenance; (6) the probable average direct profits, and (7) the probable average indirect profits in a series of years, represented by produce, rent, and revenue saved from destruction, and risk of famine expenditure reduced or averted; the negotiation with the zamindars, through a suitable agency, for the gradual construction of such works at the joint cost of the State and themselves, but, as far as possible, under their supervision and management; similar negotiations with the ryots wherever, and to such extent as, the zamindar fails to co-operate satisfactorily; the inspection and valuation of each work as soon as finished, the cost being computed, not at public works rates, but at the village rates actually incurred; the determination of the area actually improved or protected by each work, and the levying on it of a fair enhancement of rent, payable by all fields benefited, full equitable allowance being made to tenants sharing the outlay; lastly, the drawing-up of agreements setting forth the actual cost, the amounts contributed to it by State, zamindar and ryot, the estimated direct profits, and the share of those profits assigned to each, and for how long, in the shape of increased revenue, rent, or share of produce.

Perhaps it will be objected that private enterprise will be checked if these proposals are adopted, and that the people will lean more and more on the Government, and rely less and less on themselves. I cannot find any validity in such an objection.

It is not a deadening of private enterprise to mark out definitely its true scope, to occupy an area which does not properly belong to it, and guarantee it against encroachment on its fair range and claims. My proposals aim at this definite marking out of the proper field for the joint and separate enterprise of State, landowner, and tenant in the great work of land-improvement in India; at showing each of the two great rural classes what it has got to do; at giving to each the strongest possible inducement to take up its fair share of the joint load, and effective help in carrying it. I want to restore confidence; to bring into the business a strong, active, working partner, whom the zamindar may in time learn to esteem and trust, instead of a distant, sleeping partner whom at present he cordially distrusts. I want to join hands and heart with him in a combined resolute effort for our mutual good; to work with him over the joint estate, field by field, village by village, taking the tenants with us. I want to lift from Issachar's patient shoulders our share of the double burden that is now dragging him down, and to help him to bear forward strongly his lightened load. If to get these things done is to deaden private enterprise, perhaps it might be better for private enterprise to be deadened after this fashion, than to be left dead-alive as at present.

ARTHUR HARINGTON.

THE QUARTER.

THE reading of the Financial Statement for the official year 1882-83, which took place on the 8th instant, and the passing of the Bills necessary to give effect to the fiscal changes embodied in it, are the most important domestic events that have occurred since the date of our last retrospect.

The regular estimates for the year just about to expire show an expected surplus of £1,577,000, instead of £855,000, as originally budgeted for. This favourable result has been attained in spite of repayments, aggregating £670,000, to the local Governments, on account of their contributions to the cost of the Afghan war, and of a further sum of £360,000 credited to them in connexion with the renewal of the provincial contracts, neither of which items was provided for in the Budget. On the other hand, the receipts were increased by the sum of about £250,000, to which extent the portion of the English contribution to the cost of the war credited in the accounts of the year exceeded the outgoings under this head. Practically, therefore, the surplus of the year may be set down at £2,357,000.

The estimates for the coming year provide for a small surplus of £285,000, after remitting the duties on piece-goods and other imported goods, except salt, opium, wine, beer, spirits, arms and ammunition, amounting in the aggregate to £1,108,000, and reducing the salt duties throughout India from Rs. 2-14 per maund in Bengal, and Rs. 2-8 elsewhere, to a uniform rate of Rs. 2 per maund, at a loss to the revenue of about £1,423,000. But for these and sundry other minor changes, the estimates for the year would have shown a surplus of over three millions.

The aggregate figures are, for 1881-82, Revenue £72,913,000, and Expenditure £71,336,000, as against Budget estimates of £70,160,000 and £69,305,000 respectively; and, for 1882-83, Revenue £66,459,000 and Expenditure £66,174,000.

Among heads of revenue the receipts from which are now expected to exceed the estimates, are Excise, better by £380,000; Opium, better by £1;137,000; and Railways, better by £1,137,000. In no case have the receipts under any of the regular heads fallen seriously below the estimates; though under the abnormal head of the English contribution to the Afghan war there is a reduction of £695,000, which sum has been credited to the accounts of 1880-81, instead of 1881-82. On the expenditure side, the most important items of increase are £210,000 under the head of loss by exchange ; £287,000 under the head of ordinary public works; and £116,000 under the head of salt, while Frontier Railways show a decrease of £581,000; Opium of £201,000 ; Law and Justice, of £170,000 and Marine of £115,000.

In framing the estimates for the year 1882-83, it is noteworthy that the Opium receipts are put down at £7,250,000 as compared with £6,500,000 in the last Budget. This, however, is £588,000 less than the regular estimate for the current year, and will probably be exceeded. On the other hand, the net Railway receipts are taken at £468,000 less than in the current year. On the expenditure side, loss by exchange is taken at £519,000 less than in the current year, owing to a reduction in the Secretary of State's drafts from £17,200,000 to £15,592,000, and the net military expenditure is calculated at £15,260,000, as compared with £16,150,000 in 1881-82.

No Indian Finance Minister ever had a fairer opportunity, either of earning popularity by eliminating from the fiscal system of the country such elements as are odious to the people, or prejudicial to the interests of commerce, or of laying the foundations of a largely increased material prosperity by the inauguration of a scheme of public works in keeping with the requirements of the country.

To a great extent this opportunity appears to us to have been blindly thrown away. After providing for the remission of the Patwari Cess in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, a seasonable measure of relief, involving a sacrifice of £316,000 a year, and for a very necessary increase in the pay of the subordinate executive native service, Major Baring still found himself with a surplus of about two millions and three-quarters sterling available either for the remission of objectionable taxes, the reduction of debt, or the execution of reproductive works.

That opportunity should be taken of this favourable state of the revenue to abolish the remaining duties on foreign piece-goods was inevitable ; for not only was the Government pledged to carry out this measure whenever circumstances should enable it to do so without incurring the necessity of imposing fresh taxation on the country, but the effect of the late partial remission of the duties had been such as to render any other course indefensible, whether on financial or economical grounds. On the one hand, the proportion of duty-free to dutiable grey-goods imported had become so great, that the revenue derived from the latter had ceased to be worth the trouble of collecting ; on the other, the duty had acquired a distinctly sumptuary effect and had revolutionised the character of the trade to the grave injury of individual manufacturers. At the same time the process of distinguishing between the two classes of goods was attended with disproportionate trouble to the Custom House officials and annoyance to importers. The case of bleached and coloured goods was not, perhaps, so urgent a one, but it would have obviously been a grave anomaly to handicap these goods with a duty of five per cent. merely because they had undergone a process deserving rather of encouragement than otherwise.

As regards the general import duties, their fate may be said to have been involved in that of the cotton duties; for once the latter source of revenue was abandoned, the retention of the former became indefensible on the ground of their aggregate insignificance.

As long as the import duties were levied impartially, and, while not protective in their effect, produced a revenue commensurate with the cost of collecting them and the inconvenience caused by them to traders, the strongest reason existed for maintaining them in a country where the evils of direct taxation are so serious as in India. But this had ceased to be the case, and the blame or merit of the final result must rest with a previous Administration.

That the result is one to be deplored, most impartial judges will admit.

Even if the import duty on piece-goods had been liable to the objection urged against it by the British manufacturer, there can be no question that the removal of the export duty on rice should have taken precedence of even its partial abolition. Equally little question can there be that the form of partial abolition actually decided on was the worst form that could be chosen, unless, as Lord Lytton boasts, it was chosen for the express purpose of forcing the total abolition on a future administration.

The loss of revenue on account of the Customs duties being calculated at £1,108,000, there still remained about a million and three quarters to be disposed of; and of this money Major Baring has availed himself to reduce the salt duty.

In defence of this mode of employing the money, we are told that the reduction will afford relief to the entire population of the country, including the poorest classes, and that it will strengthen the financial situation. The former contention is, doubtless, literally true; but when we come to enquire into the extent and character of the relief, its practical significance vanishes into thin air. If the duty surrendered were equally distributed over the entire population, it would amount to about one anna and a half per head. But in fact, at least one-third of the entire amount will be appropriated by the Banniah class, so that the actual relief to the consumer will not exceed one anna per head per annum, a sum obviously too small either to affect the standard of living, or to be capable of productive employment. A million and a half of money so distributed is practically a million and a half cast into the sea. When we reflect what the judicious expenditure of a million and a half per annum might have accomplished in the way of promoting general prosperity, astonishment mingles with our regret at the wantonness of the sacrifice. As to the contention that the reduction will strengthen the financial situation, it depends entirely on the truth of the assumption that the reduction of the duty will lead to a sensible increase in the consumption of salt. But, as far as Bengal is concerned, there is no good reason to expect that this will be the case, for the poorest peasant in Bengal already consumes as much salt as his taste dictates, and he would consume no more if the duty were abolished altogether. In some parts of the country the reduction may possibly lead to an increase of consumption, but, at the best, it will be comparatively trifling.

So far we have compared the advantage likely to result from the reduction of the duty with what might have been expected to attend the reproductive employment of the revenue surrendered. Supposing, however, that the application of the money to the remission of some form of taxation was a foregone conclusion, there can be no question that the license tax should have had the preference, whether regard be had to its excessive unpopularity, or to the relief that would have resulted from its abolition. About the unpopularity of the tax, there is no difference of opinion. On the other hand, it is argued that its abolition would have relieved only a comparatively small number of individuals, belonging to the well-to-do classes of the community, while the reduction of the salt tax benefits the entire population. This argument, however, ignores the fact that there is a limit beyond which the sub-division of a boon deprives it of all value whatsoever, and, that limit once reached, no further multiplication of the number of recipients can be of any advantage. A sum of money which, if spent in the relief of even a single individual, would add so much to the sum of human happiness, adds nothing whatever to that sum when so distributed that the relief to each individual recipient is inappreciable. There is no question that the remission of the license tax would have added very sensibly to the happiness of a large number of human beings, not to speak of the demoralising abuses that would have been put an end to, while it is very doubtful whether the reduction of the salt tax will sensibly add to the happiness of a single individual, though, in the meantime, it is said to have nearly ruined a good many.

It is proposed to spend a sum of £2,765,000 on Productive Public Works and £485,000 on the East Indian Railway during the year; and it is estimated that, if no loan should be taken for this purpose, the cash balances on the 31st March 1883, will stand at £10,848,000. Whether a loan is eventually required, or not, will depend on the state of these balances in the month of November when they are generally reduced to a minimum. The closing balance named above corresponds with a balance of about £7,400,000 at the period in question, and this is less, by about a million sterling, than it is considered prudent to work with. There can be little doubt, however, that the Stock Notes which it is proposed to issue, will add far more than this sum to the balances; and there is consequently very little probability of a loan being required.

These Stock Notes will be issued at par in denominations of Rs. 12½; Rs. 25; Rs. 50; and Rs. 100, bearing interest payable annually, at the rate of 4 per cent, and redeemable on six months' notice, after the expiry of twenty years. They will be procurable at all the district and the principal subordinate treasuries, and will be transferable without endorsement. The Resolution on the subject, published with the Financial Statement, specifies no limit to the amount the Government are prepared to borrow in this form, and some doubt is apparently entertained by them as to the probable success of the scheme. The general opinion of the public, on the other hand, seems to be that the notes will be eagerly sought after, in which case it will be found necessary to fix a limit to the issue.

In the course of the Statement Major Baring took the opportunity to explain the Government policy on a variety of subjects of importance, the opium question and the license-tax among them. As regards the former, while admitting that the connexion of the State with the trade in the drug is not free from serious objection, he clearly demonstrated the imperative necessity of maintaining the present system from a financial point of view, and the baselessness of the belief entertained by the anti-opium agitators that the consumption of the drug would be checked by its abandonment.

As regards the license-tax, while admitting that, in its present form, its incidence is inequitable, the Government has decided to postpone any change on the ground that, in several important particulars, the Indian fiscal system is in a state of transition, and that finality could not therefore be predicated of any change that might be made. The attitude of the Government in the matter is thus summed up. "We recognise the evils of the present tax. We recognise that in its present form it cannot be incorporated into the permanent financial system of the country. Beyond this we do not at present go. We reserve to ourselves complete liberty of action in the future, either to propose the abolition of the license tax, to recast it, or even, should such a course appear desirable, when the financial arrangements for the year 1883-84 come under consideration, to allow it to continue in existence in its present form for a while longer."

In the course of the debate on the Budget, the Military Member took the opportunity of explaining the arrangement which, on the recommendation of the late Army Commission, the Secretary of State has sanctioned for the re-organisation of the native army. Under this arrangement there will be an immediate reduction of 22 regiments, *viz.*, 4 of cavalry and 18 of infantry. The reduction will fall upon the three armies of India—in the Bengal Army, 3 regiments of Native Cavalry, 6 of Native Infantry; in the Bombay Army 1 Regiment of Native Cavalry, and 4 of Native Infantry; while in the Madras Army there will be no change made in the number of Native Cavalry Regiments, but there will be a reduction of 8 Regiments of Native Infantry. These reductions in the number of Native Regiments will not reduce the aggregate strength of the Native Army. The Cavalry Regiments in Bengal and Bombay, will be raised from 457 and 487 respectively, to 550 Natives of all ranks, while the strength of the Madras Cavalry will remain unchanged. The strength of the Infantry Regiments will be raised from 712 to 832 of all ranks. The effect of these changes will be that the total strength of the three Native Armies in India will be increased by 31 men. There will be a small increase in the Bengal and a small decrease in the Bombay Cavalry, that of Madras remaining as at present. While there will be an increase of 1,362 Infantry in Bengal and of 272 in Bombay, there will be a decrease of 1,896 Infantry in the Madras Army. With regard to the European officers, it is not intended that their strength shall be diminished; they will remain, as nearly as possible, on the same strength as now, and this will be done by adding an aditional officer to each regiment of Native Cavalry and Infantry in addition to those already maintained. The position of these officers will be that of "squadron" and "wing" officers, and they will receive the same rates of pay and allowances now allowed to those holding similar appointments.

Under the head of foreign politics the only event of any importance that we have to record is the improvement which has apparently taken place in the relations of the Government of India with the Court of Ava. During his late visit to Rangoon a deputation of the leading merchants and other inhabitants of that port waited on Lord Ripon with a memorial regarding the persistent violation of treaty engagements on the part of the King of Burmah by the establishment of Royal monopolies of all the principal articles of trade. In consequence of this representation, the Government of India decided to make a further and a final effort to bring the King to a sense of his obligations in the matter. Early in the month of January a remonstrance was accordingly forwarded through the Chief Commissioner to the Foreign Minister of the Court of Ava.

The following is the text of the document in question :—

"The Viceroy has directed me to address Your Excellency again on the subject of the monopolies granted in sundry articles of trade between British Burma and the dominions of His Majesty the King. In February and again in September I had the honour of representing to Your Excellency that the policy of granting trade monopolies, if persevered in, would do great injury to the commerce between the two countries, and such monopolies were contrary to the treaty of 1867. In reply to these representations in February, Your Excellency informed me nothing had been done calculated to depress trade or inconsistent with the terms of the treaty. Last month, in reply to the remonstrances of September, Your Excellency referred me to your previous answer, saying you had nothing further to add. The Viceroy in Rangoon has enquired carefully into the question of these monopolies, and received a memorial from the Chamber of Commerce and merchants engaged and interested in the Mandalay trade. The Viceroy finds that since my letter of September, monopolies have been granted in many other articles, and that the establishment of monopolies has already done much, and probably will do more, harm to the commerce between the two countries. The merchants of Rangoon and other towns of British Burma, whether British, Chinese, Moslem or Burman, represent that if the monopolies continue, trade with Mandalay will come to an absolute standstill, and thus cause serious loss, if not suffering, to the trade of the two countries. The Viceroy directs me to state to Your Excellency as forcibly as I can that it is certainly no longer possible to say the monopoly policy does not injure trade. In the reign of the late King, monopolies were occasionally granted, but upon representations made, they were usually modified. During the first two years of the present King's reign, there were no monopolies, trade was unrestricted, and commerce increased greatly and rapidly. Now the memorials and assurances of the merchants as well as statistics of trade with Upper Burma for the last few months, make it very clear that commerce has decreased and will, if the monopolies continue, suffer much further injury. The Viceroy believes the Government of His Majesty the King desire to remain on terms of friendship with the British, and desire both countries to be benefited by mutual commerce. Such friendship of intercourse is best maintained by means of communications set on foot by trade. Therefore there is nothing in the relations between the Indian and Upper Burman Governments to which the Viceroy attaches more importance than to unrestricted commerce. On this account he desires that trade between the two countries should flourish, improve, and remain unrestricted. The treaties made with the late King were mainly directed to secure the fulfilment of these desires. If, therefore, the Government of His Majesty the King continue the policy of granting monopolies, the Viceroy will be compelled to regard the Government of Mandalay as indifferent to the maintenance of good relations with the British Government. The Viceroy disclaims any wish to interfere in the internal affairs, fiscal or other, of Upper Burma, and desires to cultivate an increase of the friendship which, in times past, existed between the two countries. But he cannot but look upon the continuance of a commercial policy such as has been adopted at Mandalay during the last few months, as an indication of disregard on the part of the Government of the King of Ava of their duties towards a friendly Government. The Viceroy has caused me to address Your Excellency this strong remonstrance on the subject of the trade monopolies now obtaining in Upper Burma, and he directs me finally to say that if commercial affairs between the two countries continue in their present state, or fall into a worse position in consequence of the continuance of the trade monopolies, the Government of His Majesty the King will be responsible for any diminution of friendship between the two countries which results from such proceedings."

Contrary to general expectation, and owing, probably to causes which yet remain to be explained, this remonstrance has been followed by a marked change in the hitherto impassible attitude of the King, and not only have the monopolies been abolished, but it is stated that he has determined to despatch an envoy to the Government of India.

March 16th, 1882.

POSTCRIPT.

SINCE the above was written, it has been announced from Rangoon that the preparations for the embassy are approaching completion; that it will be headed by the Pangyet Woon, with Tangyet Woon, who was educated at Woolwich, as Secretary, and that the 2nd April has been fixed upon for its departure from Mandalay. If this information is correct, it may reasonably be inferred that the despatch of the Envoy is something more than a mere formality, and that the King is sincerely anxious for the establishment of improved relations with the British Government.

The Englishman of this morning announces the selection of Sir Ashley Eden to succeed Sir Erskine Perry as a Member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India. A better choice could not have been made.

March 31*st*, 1882.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

GENERAL LITERATURE.

The Imperial Gazetteer of India. London: Trübner & Co.

THIS is beyond doubt a grand national work, entitling the projectors, the contributors, and, most of all, the Editor, to the warm thanks of all who are in any degree interested in the Indian Empire. Some drawbacks and imperfections were probably unavoidable in a first undertaking of such magnitude, among which one of the most deplorable is, that the Government of India appears to have made a point of the work appearing in 1881, while the results of the census could not be available till the following year. By this hurry—of the necessity for which we cannot presume to judge—the value of the work may be said to be universally impaired. There can hardly be a single page in which the new census will not enforce correction; while the general analysis and aggregates will be all wrong on points of more or less importance.

The plan and arrangement are as skilful as the execution is luminous and instructive. It would, of course, be impossible to offer a complete review of the whole; nor can any one have had hitherto either the leisure or the ability to make the needful examination. But we have adopted the very natural course of turning to articles on which we were best informed, and we have always found them treated with skill, and usually with accuracy. A few mistakes, in connexion chiefly with philology or transliteration, will be noticed in different portions, some at least of which may be attributable to those oversights from which the most careful printing can seldom be quite free.

The part which most exposes itself to question is probably the article "India" in Vol. IV. Apparently almost identical with that by the same writer in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* now in course of publication by Messrs. Black of Edinburgh, it seems less appropriate in a quasi authoritative *Gazetteer*, posessing the character of a work issued in pursuance of Governmental orders. Not only does it involve controversies in which the Government is itself a party, but it express conclusions to which the Government would perhaps hardly wish to be committed. Some of these conclusions appear to the undersigned very erroneous; and if they be so, it would have been better that the credit of the ruling power should not appear to be staked upon them. Lastly, the article, while too long to be enjoyed as a literary essay, is not full enough to contain the information required from a work of reference.

One of the most serious instances of the impolicy of engaging the authority of the State, however indirectly, is to be found in the remarks upon what is erroneously called "the land-tax." Broadly speaking, the doctrine of the *Gazetteer* is that, the British tax the country far less heavily than did the Mughal Emperors, which, if the country prospered as is reported under the best of those Emperors, would be a serious imputation upon British administration. It is asserted that the land-revenue, during the last century of the empire, averaged 32 millions (*q. d.* of pounds sterling), and that this was only half of the whole revenue of the Mughal Government (pp. 456—8.) Making allowance for the subsequent discoveries of gold in California and Australia, and the importations of bullion into the Presidency mints, this supposed sum of sixty-four millions sterling would probably equal nearly two hundred millions of modern money, and represent an incidence of about ten rupees a head on the population. The present rate of incidence is probably about a quarter of that rate; so that—supposing (as we seem to have a right to suppose) the country to have borne the Mughal taxation without suffering—the British fiscal system must be one of almost scandalous inefficiency.

This estimate, it is true, omits to notice that over five hundred thousand square miles, with a population of some fifty millions (say, roughly, countries equivalent to the empires of Germany and Austria together) are under home rule, and pay nothing to the Imperial fisc, save some unimportant amount of tribute. But the omission is not material, as it does not exceed that which would have to be made in estimating Mughal resources. The Empire, in its widest extent, can never have derived any revenue worth considering from many enormous tracts of country now taxed by the British. Nor had its rulers the means of raising, as the British do with their opium, nearly ten millions sterling from foreigners. Rajputana then, as now, was unproductive to the Imperial treasury. Nor did the Empire include such rich and extensive portions of the country, as Assam, British Burma, the Central Provinces (except in name), the Carnatic, or part (generally a small part) of the Deccan.

Happily this most astounding estimate rests on no adequate foundation. In the first place, to speak of what the revenue "averaged during a century," is in itself misleading. What practical information would be derived from a calculation that the revenue of England during the last century averaged twenty-three millions, when we find from history that the revenue at the beginning of the period was under four, and at the end over thirty-eight millions? In the next place, the estimates for 1655 are—however conflicting—derived from the accounts of a highly organised and united monarchy, while those for 1761 (and for many preceding years) must be derived from conjectures built out of the ill-recorded conditions of a most anarchical chaos. Thirdly, what proof is there of the statement that the land-revenue of the Mughals was only half the whole income of the State? In those days there was no complete system of separate revenue; such items as stamps, excise, opium, and sea customs (none of which is obligatory on any native of India) yielded little or nothing compared with what they bring in now. The poll-tax was suspended during nearly the whole period—say, from 1560 to 1680*—and of the other supposed sources we know of scarcely any, except such fluctuating elements as fines and escheats, which probably went direct into the private chest of the Crown and never formed a part of the national budget.

A modern writer has shown† that the entire revenue—from all sources—was very much as follows:—

Under Akbar—ten to twelve *crores* of rupees. Under Jehángir—from twelve to seventeen and a half. Under Sháh Jahán—about twenty-two. Under Aurangzeb—from twenty-four to thirty-eight, increase due to impositions of poll-tax and conquest of parts of the Deccan.

For the succeeding period, we have no trustworthy sources of information. Neither do we know for a certainty what were the relative values of rupees and sterling during any part of the period covered by Mughal history.

But we learn from an Italian follower‡ of Aurangzeb that the thirty-eight *crores* supposed to have been collected (at one brief epoch of his long reign) by that Emperor, were equivalent to five hundred and eighty millions of French *livres*. Taking the *livre* to have been nearly equivalent to the modern *franc*, this is about twenty-three millions of English sterling: little more than one-third of Mr. Hunter's "average." And this was an exceptional maximum.

Such are the most important blemishes that we have been able to discover on a brief examination of this noble *Gazetteer*, and they may be all corrected easily in the next edition: where the statistics of the recent census will also, no doubt, be adopted.

---

* It was again taken off about 1720, and never imposed again.

† Mr. Keene v. *Turks in India*, and paper read before the As. Soc. of Bengal.

‡ S. Manucci.

The origin of the *Gazetteer* is stated in Mr. Hunter's preface, where he also gives a brief sketch of early labours in the same field. It appears that, more than a century ago, the late Court of Directors endeavoured to collect the statistical details of the Eastern Subahs, then recently brought under this control. But for want of due superintendence, this project, and all succeeding attempts of a like nature, failed to come to any thing until the Viceroyship of "Lord Lawrence." Seconded by the Secretary of State, and warmly followed by Lord Mayo, the scheme got into the right hands as to executive control. The provincial governments being at last induced to adopt a uniform plan—subject to none but unavoidable modifications—it became possible to digest the information into a proper scientific and literary work, such as that now before us.

Starting from the "district"—corresponding to the shire or county of the British islands—the original survey gave a description of the 240 districts into which the country is divided for administrative purposes. These materials have in the first place furnished fifteen provincial *Gazetteers*. Those parts that are still under home rule had, however, to be omitted from this survey for political reasons. And, even for "British India," the provincial gazetteers—which, when finished, will form about a hundred bulky volumes, are too ponderous to meet the wants of the general reader. Consequently, Mr. Hunter, who never forgets the means of popularising his subject, has condensed the whole of his materials into the handy and workmanlike nine volumes which have formed the subject of this brief notice.

H. G. KEENE.

A Prospectus of the Scientific Study of the Hindu Law. By J. H. Nelson, M. A., London, C. Kegan Paul & Co. Madras, Higginbotham & Co., 1881.

MR. NELSON is an uncompromising iconoclast. He would make a clean sweep, at least as regards Southern India, of all existing authority on the subject of Hindu law, whether in the shape of text-books, or of precedents, and re-construct the edifice afresh in the light of the more advanced scholarship of the present day. "It commonly chances," he says in his preface, "that the mind of the untutored English judge in India passes through three successive phases as touching evidence. In his early days he accepts without hesitation almost anything in the shape of evidence that may be set before him. Then comes a revelation. He learns the startling fact that a deal of evidence is not legally admissible, and for year he rejects, or regards with suspicion, almost everything that is offered. But, sooner or later, he will settle down comfortably in the middle course, accepting and rejecting with discrimination. Much the same sort of thing appears to have been going on in the matter of Hindû law. The earliest inquirers, and with them Jones and Colebrooke, seem to have believed whatever their *Pandits* (experts) chose to tell them. Then, after Colebrooke had left India, came what may be called the acute lawyer stage; strongly marked towards its close by the contemptuous snuffing out of the poor, misunderstood *Pandit.* And quite recently we have come to the third stage, in which wary Sanskritists like Goldstücker and Bühler have taught the student of Hindû law to take texts and *Pandits* (ancient and modern) for what they may be worth, and to seek everywhere for light. And now, with guides like Max Müller, Burnell, Mayr, Weber, Jolly, and others, explorers may hope to do much. In short, the scientific study of the Hindû law at last has become possible."

The Prospectus of the Scientific Study of the Hindû law is mainly an enquiry into the directions which research for this purpose should take; and the following points, among others, are laid down as standing in urgent need of settlement:—

"(1) With respect to the *Dharmas'astras:* when, and in what circumstances, and with what objects, were they first composed? And do the metrical recensions that have come down to us from comparatively recent times contain the substance of what was reduced into writing in the form of the ancient prose *Sûtras?*

"(2) Upon what points, and to what extent, do the existing *Dharmas'astrus* differ one from another? The writers of the modern so-called digests failed in their endeavours to bring everything into harmony—would it be possible for others by any method to reconcile the differences in the *Smritis?* Or do the ancient works present different laws administered to different clans?

"(3) What are the precise ideas denoted and connoted by the words *Charana* and *S'akha* respectively? To what extent, if any, was it lawful for *Charana* A to accept and follow the doctrine of *Charana* B? What *Charanas* adhered to the old 'black *Yajur-Veda,*' and what to the new 'white *Yajur-Veda,*' founded by *Yajñavalkya,* of the family of the *Vajasaneyins?* What was the nature of the religious movement which followed upon the foundation of the new *Veda,* and how far was it connected with Buddhism? Was *Yajñavalkya* a Buddhist teacher?

"(4) Who were the *Manavas* whose *Dharmasastra* is known as the *Code of Menu?* Where did they live? When did they become extinct? What sect, if any, now represents them? Were they very numerous, or powerful, or notable, or was there anything special about them that induced other sects to govern themselves by their teaching? And, in particular, did their influence reach down to the South of India?

"(5) What was the origin of the now celebrated *Mitaxara* or *Vijñanes'vara?* Where, when, and with what object, or for whose benefit, was it compiled? Is the existing the original text, or a quite modern recension? Who was the author? What are the grounds for the belief that this work was, and is, the 'paramount authority' on inheritance and succession over a considerable part of India? Does it contain any positive laws or commands, or any collection of actual usages and customs, or is it a mere exposition of speculative opinions of a religious recluse upon subjects with which he could not possibly be conversant? Was the work at any time considered authoritative, in so far as it professes to deal with law, in the countries of South India? And what is the truth about other so-called works of authority in the Madras Province?

"(6) To what extent have Brahmanism, Buddhism, and Jainism, respectively, acted and reacted upon the religious beliefs and practices of the population of South India? What should be understood at the present time by the term *Hindû?* Are the *Vaishnava, S'aiva,* and other principal sects to be regarded as Hindû? What is the true history of the feud between the '*Right-hand*' and the '*Left-hand*'? How far does the antagonism between these two great divisions of society extend—for example, does it preclude the members of one division from accepting and respecting religious, legal, and other works that are accepted and respected by members of the other?

"(7) What is meant by, and included in the term *Dravida?* What portions of the population of South India may be supposed to be *Dravida?* What was the origin of the family? What its state of civilisation in early times? How have Brahmanism and *Dravidism* acted and reacted on one another?

"(8) May the population of South India be made by any method of classification to sever into a few principal divisions, or will it be found on inquiry to consist of numberless independent and mutually repellent aggregates? Hitherto the inhabitants of the Western Coast have been assumed to be quite different and distinct from all other castes and tribes. Is the assumption warranted by facts, or do Western Coast practices, such as polyandry and succession in the female line, prevail elsewhere than on the Western Coast? To what extent do important customs, such as the preference of the son-in-law to the natural son as heir, and the custom of the father cohabiting with the son's wife prevail?

"(9) A few collections of usages and customs of so-called Hindûs exist and are accessible, as Boulnois and Rattigan's, Steele's, that of the Ceylon Tamils, and perhaps some few others. How far do they resemble and differ from one another? And to what extent, if any, do the rules contained in them appear to be based upon, or sanctioned by, the received Hindû law-books, or appear to agree with such notices of local usages and customs as are found in Hindu law-books?

"(10) Brahmans ought to govern themselves by their respective *S'akhas.* Do they? What are their usages and customs? To what extent do the usages and customs of *Ayyangars,*—for example, differ from those of *Ayyars, Raus,* and other divisions of Southern Brahmans? In what respects, and to what extent do the usages and customs of the principal non-Brahman castes, *e. g.*, the *Chettis* and *Mudalis,* differ from those of the Brahmans and of one another? What are the most remarkable of the usages and customs of non-Brahman castes, and how far are they consistent or inconsistent with the Hindû religion and status?

"(11) To what extent do the Mahomedans of the Madras Province follow the usages and customs of other non-Brahman castes, for example, the custom of living together in undivided families, in a state of coparcenary?

"(12) What was the nature of the authority exercised by *Gurus,* heads of castes, heads of villages, and caste-meetings, respectively, in settling disputes of a civil nature, and punishing crimes and transgressions, before the establishment of the British power? And what portion, if any, of the authority of any of them survives?"

The work of reconstruction would involve the classification of existing Sanskrit law-books; the determination of which should be considered obligatory on the Brahmans of Southern India generally, or on particular sections of them, and for what purposes, and to what extent; of what rules (if any) contained in such books can be applied to true Sudras, if such are to be found in South India; the investigation of the various usages and customs of the non-Brahman tribes and castes, for whom the writer believes it would be essential to legislate separately.

For the purpose of examining and reporting upon the Sanskrit books supposed to contain Hindū law, he would have Government appoint a mixed commission of orientalists, judges, and men of business. Of this commission, he says, "the principal duty should be to collect all the admissible evidence forthcoming to show that such books, all or any of them, have at any time, either consciously or unconsciously, been regarded by the population of South India, or by any part of it, as books containing law, and therefore as authorities obligatory on men's consciences. I have searched in vain for such evidence; I honestly believe that not a particle of it can anywhere be found. If a properly appointed commission were to report that no such evidence is forthcoming, the monster called 'Hindoo Law' would be quietly slain and buried without delay, and Government would begin the task of collecting and arranging in a simple form the few primitive usages and customs that are common to all or most Indian castes."

With the view of finding out the usages and customs of the Indian castes, he would appoint a committee of the principal officers of each district, with a District judge of experience, to collect, arrange and appraise the information obtained. He would then have Government publish, for the information of its judges, a concise statement of the results arrived at, to be styled the book of "Usages and Customs." After that it might go on "to draw up a set of rules for the guidance of the courts of justice in deciding causes in which the dispute involves questions of marriage, succession, inheritance, and the like. These rules should be of the most general character, and merely provisional. Not a single 'settled principle,' or definition should be found in them. Their main object should be to point out with some precision the right method of using the facts contained in the concise statement above spoken of. It should be declared that where either party challenges an act as being contrary to the custom of his caste and wrong, but it appears from the '*Usages and Customs*' that acts of the kind habitually are done by all or most of the principal castes, and the act appears to the Court to be in itself indifferent, the Court shall, without going into evidence upon the point, decide then and there (for the purposes of the particular suit) that the act was right and proper. But where the '*Usages and Customs*' was against the act, I would have the rule to be that the Court should take, or not take, evidence as to the custom, according as it did, or did not, think the act not to be in itself indifferent."

He would further have the heads of castes recognized and examined by the courts on points of usage, and he would largely extend the Registration Act.

He thus sums up:—

> "In order to carry out the traditional policy of the British Government, and redeem the oft-repeated promise that we will administer to the people their own laws and customs in all matters of marriage, succession, and the like, it is advisable, in my opinion, for Government to do certain things in a certain order, namely:—
>
> 1. We must have a relieving and enabling Act passed, so that Indians may understand that they are free agents in ordinary affairs, except in so far as they may voluntarily have given up their liberty for caste or other reasons.
> 2. A commission must report upon the Sanskrit books supposed (as I think, erroneously supposed) to contain law obligatory on the people of South India.
> 3. By means of District Committees, or otherwise, Government must find out what in fact are the usages and customs of the Brahman and non-Brahman castes. Particularly, information must be collected in respect to the constitution of the 'house' or family, the nature of Indian rights over things, the position of the Managing Member, and the like.
> 4. An account of the results so obtained must be published for the guidance of the courts.
> 5. A set of general practical rules must be framed, to show the courts how to use the account just above referred to, and take evidence about custom.
> 6. The registration of marriages, adoptions, divisions, and other common acts should be made compulsory.
> 7. Steps should be taken to revive and improve the institution of the Family Council, and partially to recognise and define the position, rights and duties of the Managing Member.
> 8. The heads of castes must be officially and judicially recognised.
>
> When these things have been done, and the new system of administering Hindû law has been worked for some years, it will be possible, perhaps very easy, to draw up a Code of Hindû law upon the basis of the '*Usages and Customs*,' as modified and illustrated by select decisions of the District Courts and High Court."

A Manual of Hindu Pantheism. The Vedantasara, translated with copious Annotations. By Major J. A. Jacob, Bombay Staff Corps: Inspector of Army Schools, London: Trübner & Co., 1881.

THE modest title of Major Jacob's work conveys but an inadequate idea of the vast amount of research embodied in his notes to the text of the Vedantasara. So copious, indeed, are these, and so much collateral matter do they bring to bear on the subject, that the diligent student will rise from their perusal with a fairly adequate view of Hindû philosophy generally. It is, perhaps, to be regretted that the author has not confined himself to exposition, and left his readers to form their own opinion of the value of the tenets described. But this is the only fault we have to find with his book, which, in other respects, is one of the best of its kind that we have seen.

The Quatrains of Omar Khayyám. Translated into English Verse. By E. H. Whinfield, M. A., Late of the Bengal Civil Service. London: Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill, 1882.

THE quatrains of Omar Khayyám are interesting not only for their intrinsic merit, whether from a poetical or a philosophical point of view, but as affording a striking illustration of the degree of culture attainable, in so out-of-the-way a place as Khorassan, in the 12th century of our era.

Omar Khayyám was a fellow-student of Nizam ul Mulk, afterwards the celebrated minister of Alp Arslan and Malik Shah, and of Hassan Sabbah, destined to be equally famous in another way. The three companions entered into a compact that whichever should first attain to fortune, would share it with the other two. Nizam ul Mulk, when he became Minister to Alp Arslan, was as good as his word, giving Hassan Sabbah a place at Court, and Omar, who declined to abandon his private station, a handsome stipend.

Hassan showed his gratitude by intriguing against his benefactor, and, failing in his attempt, retired from Court, joined the sect of the Ismailians, and ultimately founded the notorious sect of the Assassins. Omar was, by and bye, summoned by Nizam ul Mulk to Merv and placed in charge of the Royal Observatory there, in which post he superintended the reform of the old Persian Calendar. Besides his quatrains, he has left sundry works on mathematics, including one on Algebra, which has been translated.

There are several editions of the quatrains, varying greatly in their readings. Mr. Whinfield has used three of these for his excellent translation. The most prominent features in the quatrains are their profound agnosticism, combined with a fatalism based more on philosophic than religious grounds, their Epicureanism and the spirit of universal tolerance and charity which animates them.

The following specimens will serve to give an idea of the writer's views and style:—

I.

We sojourn here for one short day or two,
And all the gain we get is grief and woe,
And then, leaving life's problems all unsolved,
And harassed by regrets, we have to go.

X.

From doubt to clear assurance is a breath,
A breath from infidelity to faith;
Oh! precious breath, enjoy it while you may,
'Tis all that life can give, and then comes death.

XXV.

Still doth the "veil" man's utmost ken impede,
And all our fond conjecturings mislead:
Our only prospect is earth's quiet breast;
'Tis given to none the dark beyond to read.

XL.

O soul, so soon to leave this coil below,
And pass the dread mysterious curtain through,
Be of good cheer, and joy you while you may,
You wot not whence you come, nor whither go.

XLII.

If men rebel, what of omnipotence?
And if they wander, what of providence?
If heaven be earned by works, as wages due,
What room for mercy and benevolence?

XLVI.

When Allah mixed my clay, he knew full well
My future acts, and could each one foretell;
'Twas he who did my sins predestinate,
Yet thinks it just to punish me in hell.

LII.

The potter did himself these vessels frame,
What makes him cast them out to scorn and shame?
If he has made them well, why should he break them?
And though he marred them, they are not to blame.

LXXXVII.

These fools, by dint of ignorance most crass,
Think they in wisdom all mankind surpass;
And glibly do they damn as infidel
Whoever is not, like themselves, an ass.

CXXXV.

The world is baffled in its search for Thee,
Wealth cannot find Thee, no, nor poverty;
Thou'rt very near us, but our ears are stopped,
Our eyes are blinded that we may not see.

VI.

Whate'er thou doest, never grieve thy brother,
Nor raise a fume of wrath his peace to smother.
Dost thou desire to taste eternal bliss?
Vex thine own heart, but never vex another.

VII.

At first ensnare all hearts with kindly art,
Then let thine heart seek its pure counterpart,
A hundred Kaabas equal not one heart;
Seek not the Kaaba, rather seek a heart.

XIX.

Pagodas are, like mosques, true homes of prayer;
'Tis prayer that church bells waft upon the air;
Kaaba and temple, rosary and cross,
All are but divers tongues of world-wide prayer.

XXXII.

Hearts with the light of love illumined well,
Whether in mosque or synagogue they dwell,
Have their names written in the book of love,
Unvexed by hopes of heaven or fears of hell.

LI.

To friends and eke to foes true kindness show:
No kindly heart unkindly deeds will do,
Harshness will alienate a bosom friend,
And kindness reconcile a deadly foe.

II.

Since no one can assure thee of the morrow,
Rejoice thy heart to-day, and banish sorrow
With sparkling wine, fair moon, for heaven's moon
Will look for us in vain on many a morrow.

LV.

Drink wine, and then as Mahmud thou wilt reign,
And list to music passing David's strain;
Think not of past or future, seize to-day,
Then one to-day will not be lived in vain.

LVI.

Drink wine, of human travail sweetest meed,
Fruitage of youth and balm of aged need;
With boon companions, and with wine and rose,
Rejoice thy spirit—that is life indeed.

LXI.

They preach how sweet those Houri brides will be,
But, look you, so is wine sweet, taste and see.
Hold fast this cash, and let the credit be,
And shun the din of empty drums with me.

LXXIII.

When life is spent, who recks of joy or pain?
Or cares in Naishapur and Balkh to reign?
Come, quaff your wine, for after we are gone,
Moons will still wane and wax, and wax and wane.

VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

Válmikir Jaya: *The Three Forces, (Physical, Intellectual and Moral).* By Hára Prasád Sástri, M. A. Printed by Bipinbihári Ráya, at the Ráya Press, 17, Bhabáni Charan Datta's Lane, and published at the Ráya Press Depository, 14, College Square, Calcutta: 1288 B. S.

IN a recent number of this *Review* we had the pleasure to introduce Mr. Sástri to our readers as the author of an exceedingly useful and interesting work entitled *Bhárat Mahilá*. Mr. Sástri's new work, *Válmikir Jaya*, is one of an entirely different description. *Bhárat Mahilá* is of the nature of a digest, or compilation, prepared with considerable erudition and critical acumen. *Válmikir Jaya* is of the nature of a poem, and, as such, it furnishes a clearer and more conclusive test of the author's mental powers than *Bhárat Mahilá*. One autumn evening, just at the point of time when the *Satya Yuga* was passing away and the *Tretá Yuga* was coming in, the skies presented a wonderful spectacle. Breaking through the vast milky expanse over head and illumining by their heavenly brightness the infinite space around, there descended on the high summits of the Himalayas a countless host of *Ribhus*, or spirits of departed ancestors, who sang a song of universal brotherhood, which entranced the Universe, but which only three men understood. These three were Basistha, Biswamitra and Valmiki, who felt profoundly stirred by the spirit of the song, and resolved to establish universal brotherhood among men. Basistha proposed to do this by his intellectual power over the different castes into which Hindu society was divided; Biswamitra by establishing a military sovereignty over the whole race of man. In a conflict which soon broke out between these two men, Biswamitra's military power gave way before Basistha's spiritual or intellectual power; whereupon Biswamitra resolved to usurp the superior spiritual power of the Brahmin. With this object in view, he entered upon a course of spiritual meditation, combined with physical austerities, which enabled him in the end to defy even Brahmá, and to create by spiritual force an entirely new world, with a new solar system, in which order and harmony reigned supreme. But Biswamitra himself felt solitary and miserable in his newly created world; and so he resolved to take up and place therein the great city of Kanouj, the capital of his terrestrial empire, wherein lived all his friends and relatives. But the attempt proved unsuccessful, because the spiritual power acquired by him had been fully spent in the creation of the new world. His new world was therefore resolved back into its original nebulæ, and he himself, deprived of his spiritual power and half-stupified with grief, fell whirling down upon a grand ceremonial altar, where Basistha was about to perform a great sacrifice, and around which were ranged two hostile parties, representing respectively the sacerdotal and warrior classes, armed to the teeth, and ready to close in deadly conflict, but exhorted all the while by the humane Valmiki and his humanised fraternity to forget all class interests, and to love each other as brothers. The song prevailed; all hearts were melted; Basistha and Biswamitra embraced each other and Valmiki; a strong wave of brotherly feeling swayed the vast multitude; the gods, who had assembled there, blessed every body, and went to back their abodes well pleased at the fraternal union effected by Valmiki's song of universal brotherhood.

Such is, in a few words, the plot of this poem. It is written in prose, but it is not on that account the less a poem. Its object, as may be seen from the brief summary given above, is to prove that social order cannot be created and maintained by mere physical force, nor even by intellectual force, and that moral force is alone competent to do this. We are not quite sure whether this is a complete solution of the question of social organisation; but this we can say, that Mr. Sástri's method of solution, so far as it goes, is not correct. If his *Biswamitra* and *Basistha* are respectively intended to represent physical force and intellectual force, they are both failures. Biswamitra creates his typical world, not by means of physical power, but by spiritual power, and thus we find no experiment of a harmonious social organisation effected by the exercise of mere physical power. If Biswamitra had established a vast military empire, like that of the Romans in the ancient world, or like that of Napoleon Bonaparte in the modern, and if that empire had been found crumbling to pieces through the action of the dissolving forces which are inherent in purely military organisations, we should have had in him a true representative of the idea which he is intended to personify. But he does not do that, and the experiment of a harmonious social organisation effected by physical power remains, therefore, unperformed. Basistha, again, does not represent intellectual power, but priestcraft or sacerdotal cunning; and, as regards social organisation, we do not even find him making an attempt in that direction. We do not know of any instances in history of attempts made by individuals or communities to construct society upon a purely intellectual basis. But a man of strong imaginative power, like Mr. Sástri, could have easily gathered materials for an intellectual experiment from such facts as the Puritanic regime in England (which laid an interdict upon the fine arts and the sports and amusements of the people), the scholasticism of the middle ages, and the merciless intellectualism of the Convention. But though defective and even incorrect in procedure, Mr. Sástri is really grand in his execution. His sentiments are pure and elevated, his scenes are full of the greatest loftiness of the earth and the skies, his style is cast in the high heroic mould, his imagination soars above the greatest heights of the earth and heavens. His Biswamitra, apparently his most favorite creation, is a grand colossal figure, a wonderful monument of imaginative power in modern Bengali literature. Mr. Sástri is really a poet, and an ornament of his country's literature.

Continuing the thread of his narrative, Mr. Sástri gives in his concluding chapter a brief view of the moral plan of Valmiki's *Ramayan.* The poet is represented as giving the following account of what he intends doing in his great epic.

"আমি রামকে ধার্ম্মিক ও করিবনা; বীর ও করিবনা; রাজনীতিজ্ঞ ও করিবনা। স্বয়ং নারায়ণ অবনীতে অবতীর্ণ হইয়াছেন; তিনি আদর্শ মনুষ্য হইবেন। তাঁহার চরিত্র বর্ণনাক্রমে আমি আদর্শ মনুষ্য, আদর্শ রমণী, আদর্শ দম্পতী, আদর্শ ভ্রাতা, আদর্শ পরিবার, আদর্শ বন্ধু, আদর্শ রাজা ও আদর্শ শাসন প্রণালী, আদর্শ ভৃত্য ও আদর্শ শত্রু দেখাইব। আপনারা আশীর্ব্বাদ করিলে আমি এই সুযোগে এমন একটী মনুষ্য চরিত্র চিত্রিত করিব, যদ্দর্শনে সর্ব্বদেশীয় সর্ব্বজাতীয় ও সর্ব্বকালীন মানবগণ আনন্দ ও উপদেশ লাভ করিতে পারিবেন।

The reader will find in this a happy coincidence with the view which we have ourselves taken of the *Ramayan* in our notice of Babu Rajkrishna Raya's Bengali metrical version of that poem in the last number of this *Review.*

Rudrachanda (Nátiká). By Rabindra Náth Tagore. Printed and published by Kálikinkar Chakrabarti, at the Valmiki Press: Calcutta, Sakabda, 1803.

THIS is a small tragedy consisting of fourteen scenes. Rudra Chanda is an exiled enemy of King Prithviráj of Delhi. Since his banishment he has lived with his only daughter Amiyá in a secluded forest-region near the Himalayas. In this retreat, Amiyá is visited by a courtier of Prithviráj named Chánd Kabi, who loves the little girl as a brother. Rudra Chanda strongly resents Chand Kabi's visits to Amiyá, but Amiyá cannot resist the impulse of her heart towards Chánd Kabi, whose visits therefore continue. Her situation, accordingly, becomes exceedingly dangerous and distressful. At this time

Mahammad Ghori invades India, and Prithvirāj falls in a battle with the invader. Rudra Chanda comes to the battle-field to kill Prithvirāj with his own hand, but, finding him already fallen, stabs himself in a fit of frustrated revengefulness. Amiyá, who has wandered about in search of Chánd Kabi, dies disappointed and overpowered by the terrible events which take place before her eyes.

The two most interesting characters in this story are Rudra Chanda and Amiyá. Of these two Rudra Chanda seems to us most successfully drawn. He is a strong and stalwart man, stern-hearted, fierce, revengeful. His conduct towards Amiyá and his behaviour on the battle-field strike us as terribly fierce and vindictive. He looks savage, but he is also a soldier, for he scorns Mahammad Ghori's stealthy overtures for the assistance of his sword. And it is because we know that he is a true soldier that his savage vindictiveness fails to make the shocking impression on our minds which it would otherwise have done. Knowing him to be incapable of anything like absolute meanness, we only find in his fierce vindictiveness an eminently realistic representation of the half savage, half noble soldier so well known to readers of Asiatic history and feudal Europe. Of Amiyá, we are sorry to say, we cannot speak so highly. We fancy she is cast in Miranda's mould; but between her and Miranda there is really a world of differences. Miranda is a piece of reality; Amiyá is a dream—a mere sentiment. Says the latter:—

> "বড় সাধ যায় এই নক্ষত্র মালিনী
> শুভ্র যামিনীর সাথে মিশে যাই যদি।
> মৃদুল সমীর এই, চাঁদের জোছনা,
> নিশার ঘুমন্ত শান্তি এর সাথে যদি
> অমিয়ার এ জীবন যায় মিলাইয়া!"

This is dreaminess. But dreams melt away before the real living world; and dreams have no external projection. Does Amiyá fulfil these conditions? No; for she should in that case be incapable of action, and therefore unfit to be introduced into a drama. Amiyá obstinately contests her father's will—she braves his wrath. This is external projection, wholly inconsistent with the dreaminess presented to us in the foregoing lines. A really dreamy character would simply vanish before so much external fierceness, before such severe objectivity. Amiyá is a psychological failure.

We doubt, again, whether the author is right in attributing to Amiyá any thing like an obstinate opposition to her father's will. The author probably means, by adopting this course, to set forth by contrast the overpowering strength of her love for Chánd Kabi. All true poets have certainly represented love as a violent impulse; but no true poet, intending to describe love as a right feeling, has compromised any other right feeling or principle for its sake. The filial feeling is as sacred as the feeling of brotherly or conjugal love, and in a rightly framed mind neither of them conflicts with the other. Miranda is, indeed, carried away by her unschooled and untutored disposition to engage herself to Ferdinand without the knowledge, and apparently against the wish of her father. But every reader of the *Tempest* will admit that, if Prospero had really assumed an attitude of stern or obstinate opposition, Miranda, of all women, would have been the first to turn away from Ferdinand, and the last to oppose, or act secretly against, her father's will. The spectacle of a child acting against her father's wish in the matter of love-making is a thoroughly demoralising one, and particularly mischievous in the present circumstances of Hindu society. And it is for this reason that we sincerely deplore the appearance of the school of Bengali erotic poetry of which Babu Rabindra Náth Tagore seems to be a leading representative. His Amiyá, indeed, appears simple enough not to understand why her innocent love for Chánd Kabi should be regarded with violent aversion by her father. But, without insisting on the principle that in a case of self *versus* parental authority, unquestioning obedience to her father is the child's first and foremost duty, we should state with reference to Amiyá that, what is intended by the poet to enhance our sympathy with her is not so much simplicity as stupidity, or mental imbecility, a sort of *Nekámi*, to use an expressive Bengali word, which we do not like to associate with our idea of a really *lovely* female mind. We are sorry to observe, however, that the school of Bengali eotice poetry, referred to above, is principally characterised by, amongst other things, this practice of attributing this singularly unhappy mental trait to not only the heroines, but the heroes as well, of love stories.

Babu Rabindra Nath's is a really original and poetically constituted mind. He sees the delicate aspects of external nature in a manner in which no other Bengali poet has hitherto done. He enters and feels transformed into the soul of much that is lovely and beautiful in the world around. His Rudra Chanda shows that he has also a soul for the sterner things of the earth. Let him, therefore, guide his course with a little more thought, and we have no doubt he will take his place in the front rank of Bengali poets. We doubt whether he is not already very near the place which should be his, and only his.

Yurop-prabásir Patra. By Rabindra Náth Tagore. Printed by Káli Kinkar Chakrabarti at the Valmiki Press, and published by Sáradá Prasád Gangopádhyáya, Calcutta: Sakabdá, 1803.

THIS is another work by Babu Rabindra Náth Tagore. It consists of 14 letters written by him from England to friends in India. Besides a description of his voyage, these letters contain accounts of many things that Babu Rabindra Náth saw in Europe, and especially in England. The reader must not expect to find in these pages such matter as would be found in a book of travels written by a statesman, a political thinker, a student of sociology, or a naturalist. He will only find here a record of "those impressions" which, to use the author's own words, "the first sight of a foreign social system produced upon the mind," we should add, of a youthful Bengali traveller. The author also says that his reader will learn from his book how the opinions of a Bengali who goes to England are "formed and changed."

It is clear that, if the book did not enable us to learn anything else, it would be worth our while to read it only in order to learn this last. We find that Mr. Tagore's views of things and manners underwent considerable change in the course of his residence in England, and that his later letters betray a very different style of thought from his earlier ones. The change was probably owing to increased knowledge of English social and domestic life, probably also to the accommodating influence of prolonged residence, and possibly, in some measure, to an accidentally fortunate combination of circumstances. Whatever the cause, Mr. Tagore, towards the close of his English visit, became a great admirer of English social and domestic life; and in his later letters, published for the first time in a first-class Bengali periodical called the *Bhárati*, he accordingly expressed certain views, in condemnation of certain Indian institutions, which were severely attacked by the orthodox editor of that journal. We have no doubt that there is much that is really very good in English life compared with Indian life; but we are sorry to say that a thoughtful reader of these pages will feel compelled to reject a good deal of the evidence placed before him in behalf of several English social institutions and usages. That will not certainly mean that those institutions and usages are bad. That will only mean that Mr. Tagore has not been able to explain them properly. Of the unfavorable view which Mr. Tagore has taken of certain Indian institutions compared with corresponding English institutions, we are bound to say that it is a view of a singularly one-sided nature, and of a kind which usually characterises impulsive youth. We will give one instance: Mr. Tagore says that English dinner parties, with the opportunities they offer of exchanging good feelings and taking part in intellectual conversation, are something infinitely better than the monster dinner parties of his own country, in which hundreds of men assemble only to create a deafening hubbub. But we would ask Mr. Tagore, are all dinner parties bad where good feelings are not exchanged, and the guests do not discuss history and poetry? Dinner parties in India have their regulating principle as much as dinner parties in England. The monster dinner parties in this country are the result of the caste-system and the system of living in large village communities. They serve to strengthen the systems out of which they arise as a matter of course; and viewed in this light, they must be admitted by every thoughtful man to perform a more useful, important, and organic function in the social system than ordinary dinner parties in England. Indeed, Indian dinner parties bear to the conditions of Indian social life the same relation that political banquets bear to political life in England.

Mr. Tagore's book is full of graphic sketches. He writes with considerable humour, both genial and caustic. The scenes he has described are life-like. His book has greatly raised him in our opinion. He is really a man of versatile powers.

One word about his style. He may be right in thinking that letters to friends should be written in the homely and colloquial style in which we ordinarily talk with them. But he should have remembered that that is a style which we can only use at home and during leisure hours, when we can afford to be a little talkative and prodigal in the use of words. But study is a serious *business* in which loss of time means serious waste; and it would have been well if Mr. Tagore, before giving these letters to the public, had slightly altered their style with a view to condensation.

Bámátoshiní. By Pyári Chánd Mitra. Printed and published by Iswar Chandra Basu & Co., at the Stanhope Press, Calcutta, 1882.

THE following extract from the author's English preface will explain the object with which this book is written:—

"It is very necessary that Hindu girls should acquire a correct knowledge of their duties as daughters, wives, and mothers, and above all, their duty to God, the love for whom should be instilled from childhood. They should also possess correct ideas on sanitation, and know how to bring up children properly. I have therefore written the present work, which is purely a moral tale, leaving out all particular religious ideas, and showing the value of sanitation and the proper way of bringing up children, which cannot be taught unless the girls receive a sound moral education."

The author has certainly succeeded in carrying out his programme; and in so far his book may be safely recommended for use in girl's schools and in zenana teaching in this country. But before it is adopted for this purpose, we should like to see its style, which is in several places extremely un-Bengali, improved, and the many grammatical defects and solecisms, contained in it, corrected.

Aitihasik Sandarbha. Compiled by Srinath Chand. Printed by Pandit Nabin Chandra Chakrabarti at the Bharat Mihir Press, Mymensingh. 1881.

THE Compiler says in his preface :—

বঙ্গীয় বিদ্যালয়ের উচ্চ শ্রেণীতে যে সকল সাহিত্য গ্রন্থ অধীত হয়, তাহার অধিকাংশই পৌরাণিক উপাখ্যানাদি হইতে সংগৃহীত সাহিত্যরূপে প্রকৃত ইতিহাস পাঠে যে মহৎ ফললাভ হয়, বঙ্গবিদ্যালয়ের ছাত্রগণ অদ্যাপি তাহাতে বঞ্চিত রহিয়াছে। বঙ্গসাহিত্যের এই অভাব কিয়ৎ পরিমাণে দূর হইবে মনে করিয়াই আমি এই অভিনব প্রণালী অবলম্বনে সাহসী হইয়াছি।

This means that much of the literature now read in Bengali schools consists of Pauranik stories. The advantage that may be derived from the study of authentic history is therefore lost to Bengali boys. To supply this serious want Babu Srinath Chand has adopted this অভিনব প্রণালী (novel plan) of presenting selections from Bengali works of fiction to Bengali schoolboys as historical essays, or, as he himself would have it, as "readings from Indian History!" This is Babu Srinath Chand's reply to Green's Readings from English History! And অভিনব প্রণালী indeed! The get-up of the book, however, does credit to the Mymensingh Press.

Gáthá. By the authoress of Dipnirwan. Printed and published by Kalikinkar Chakrabarti, at the Valmiki Press, Calcutta, 1287, B. S.

TO readers of this *Review*, the writer of this work is already favorably known as the authoress of a good Bengali novel, entitled *Dipnirwán*, and of a good Bengali opera, entitled *Basanta Utsab.*

The work before us consists of four small love stories verse. The stories, we must say, are all happily conceiv indicating a refined and cultivated taste, a poetical frame o mind, and a sweet, tender, and sometimes even vigorous, fancy The stories are told in a half lyrical, half narrative style, of whicl the fair writer seems to be a perfect master. Her versificatio is sweet, smooth, musical and eloquent. She appeals strongly to her reader's feelings, and, though her poetry is open some degree to the strictures we have passed upon that of Rabindra Nath Tagore, it is nevertheless of a kind which we cannot afford to lose. She describes the minds of lovers with great skill, and she has also a fine pencil for external objects The following picture of an old Hindu temple may be taken as a fair specimen of her descriptive art:—

বিজন একটি বনের মাঝারে
কালের কালিমা মাখিয়া গায়,
দাঁড়ায়ে একটি কালিকা মন্দির
অনিত্যের স্থির প্রতিমা প্রায়
ভেঙ্গে গেছে তার শিখর প্রদেশ
ঝর ঝর ইট পড়িছে খসি,
বট অশথের গভীর শিকড়
রয়েছে তাহার মরমে পশি

There is only one bad line here—ঝর ঝর ইট পড়িছে খসি, which tells against the image presented in the fourth ve of the first stanza অনিত্যের স্থির প্রতিমা প্রায়. The idea of অনিত is sufficiently expressed by "the broken summit," and th coloring given to it by "the falling bricks" is not only superfluo but positively destructive of the highly solemn and effectiv image which is raised by the words স্থির প্রতিমা in the read mind.

Gáthá, we feel no hesitation in saying, is fully worthy of th authoress of *Dipnirwán.* It is a highly creditable productio and as it is written by a Hindu lady, it is a work of raro inter